THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 28, 1948 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE'S SHARE OF THE responsibility for the deteriorating situation in Palestine is heavy. His continuing failure to distinguish between the acts of the Israelis—who have fought to defend and uphold the United Nations' decision on partition—and the Arabs—whose every effort has been in defiance of the U. N.—should long since have disqualified him as mediator. Furthermore, analysis of his proposals for settlement indicate that nearly every one of them would have required a surrender by the Jews. It is no wonder that the Arabs have welcomed his "mediation." But in criticizing Bernadotte, one should not overlook the shameful discrepancy between the forward-looking promises made at the Democratic convention and the shabby performance of the Democratic standard bearer. The Philadelphia plank on Palestine included five major points: extension of a loan to Israel; sponsorship of that nation's admission to the U. N.; internationalization of Jerusalem; full recognition; and revision of the arms embargo. Months ago, the President indicated approval of Israel's request for a $100,000,000 loan. To date, the Import-Export Bank—which is certainly subject to his influence—has not acted. Israel's admission to the U. N. will not be approved unless the United States gives the nod to four wavering delegations. There has been no such effort on our part, although today, one year in advance, our delegation is busy playing politics to win support for Cuba in the next Security Council elections. Internationalization of Jerusalem was indefinitely shelved by the Trusteeship Council on a motion supported by our representative. But there was no protest by us to the Arab Legion's bloody battle for the Holy City, or to the subsequent suave proposal by Bernadotte that it be handed over to Abdullah. The *de jure* recognition of Israel is yet to be announced. A stroke of one of Mr. Truman's many pens is all that is required. Finally, on the same day the lifting of the arms embargo was indorsed by the Democratic Platform Committee, our U. N. delegate advocated the reimposition of the world-wide arms embargo. This is a miserable and unconscionable record. Mr. Truman will stand before the nation and the world as a purveyor of cynical campaign oratory unless a speedy effort is made to fulfill his party's pledges.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE C. I. O.'S TOP officers in Washington last week came indications that the full executive board will probably give President Truman its formal indorsement. Our information is that if this action is taken, it will be unaccompanied by any perceptible show of enthusiasm. Most of the vice-presidents who attended the Washington session were indifferent; only Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers, is believed to have put up a real fight for the President, and Murray himself is regarded as lukewarm. At least two of the unions represented were strongly opposed to the move. Albert Fitzgerald, speaking for the United Electrical Workers, favored Henry Wallace, and Emil Mazey, substituting for Walter Reuther, represented the Auto Workers, whose executive board had voted, 20 to 2, against indorsing Mr. Truman. Nevertheless, the absence of a tolerable alternative was clearly working in the President's favor. The officials heartily damned the Eightieth Congress—led by a "coalition of 'do-nothing' Republicans and bigoted Dixiecrats"—denounced Henry Wallace's Progressive Party, and sang the praises of the Democratic platform. The indications are that whatever official action the C. I. O. itself may take, its Political Action Committee will come out for the President. The committee plans to raise $1,500,000 to be spent on Congressional contests, and its leaders realize the difficulty of waging local fights while ignoring a Presidential campaign. Director Jack Kroll has already commented on the President's "new look," which he finds becoming.

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MORE CONFUSION THAN LIGHT IS SHED ON the "Tito Rebellion" by publication in the New York *Times* of alleged extracts from the letters addressed last spring by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the corresponding committee in Yugoslavia. Tito officials, who are reported to have shown Camille M. Cianfarra, the *Times* correspondent, some of the copies of the letters that are being secretly distributed in their country by Russian agents, emphasized the question of Yugoslav neutrality in the event of war. Their theory is that the wrath of the Cominform was directed against Tito because of his sup-

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest. Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

posed desire to steer clear of an alliance with Russia in the face of a war with the West, which he regards as a strong possibility. The extracts, however, would hardly seem to bear out this interpretation. In one of them, the Russians berate Tito for his unreasonable attitude toward the Big Four compromise on Trieste. "After having exhausted all other means," the letter reads, "the Soviet Union had only one means left to give Trieste to Yugoslavia—to wage war against the Anglo-Americans and occupy Trieste by force." And then follows what seems to us, though not to the *Times*, the crucial sentence in the document: "The Yugoslav comrades could not be unaware that the U. S. S. R. could not embark on a new war after having waged one so hard." If the letters are genuine, this would seem to be the first open admission of the sort. As such, it would certainly outrank in importance a dozen incidents like the Lomakin affair or the Russian seizure of an American citizen in Berlin. Incidents, however sensational, lead to war only when the powers involved are ready for war.

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HARRY D. WHITE WAS WIDELY KNOWN FOR his long and useful service as an economic adviser in the Treasury Department. He was prominent in the difficult administration of war finances; he was still more prominent in laying the groundwork for a peaceful and prosperous post-war world. His plan for the treatment of Germany, which became known as the "Morgenthau Plan," was, we believe, an unsound one, but it was devised and presented with skill, and served the purpose of precipitating the issue. He was chiefly responsible for the International Monetary Fund to stabilize exchanges and thus encourage trade—an organization that Russia has boycotted. In general, he was the type of public servant which the country most needs, a well-trained expert possessing a broad view, and a warm and sincere individual who threw himself wholeheartedly into his work. In private life, he might have had much higher material reward. What was his public reward? It was to be subjected to defamation before the Thomas committee on the word of a witness of doubtful competence, a self-confessed Communist agent. The strain of defending himself against this irresponsible attack undoubtedly contributed to his sudden death by coronary thrombosis. Fortunately, Mr. White had the opportunity to deliver a ringing statement of his American credo, and to make the charges look ridiculous before he died.

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THE MOST RECENT QUARTERLY REPORTS, which all lobbyists are required by law to file, show that the private-power spokesmen are more firmly entrenched in Washington than at any time since Hugo Black exposed them in the late thirties. They received $71,862.29 between April 1 and June 30. Most of this money was

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disbursed to representatives of the National Association of Electric Companies, and a large part of it was spent in various efforts to amend the Federal Power Act. High on the list of recipients, of course, was Purcell L. Smith, chief of the N. A. E. C. office, who netted $16,759. Roland Curran, of the Central Valley Project Association—which might better be called the Association to Sabotage the Social Objectives of the Central Valley Project—reported receipts of $8,978 for the quarter, of which $2,755 went for "expenses." If the balance is income, then Curran, too, is one of the highest paid lobbyists in Washington today, with a salary approaching $25,000 a year. During the last regular session of Congress, Curran spent most of his time before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, helping push through the appropriation-bill rider that will remove Michael Straus and Richard Boke from the payroll of the Bureau of Reclamation on January 31. (Their dereliction was undertaking to enforce the 160-acre-limitation regulations in California.) Studying the reports of the utility lobbyists, readers with long memories will recognize that this is where they came in—a decade ago.

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THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD has decided that the Taft-Hartley law compels it to outlaw the union hiring halls in the shipping industry, even where these halls are agreed to by employers and are established by contractual relationship. This again raises the issue whether it is wise to forbid the closed shop, particularly when it is established practice and employers have no objection to it. The history of the organization of longshoremen and maritime workers is a stormy one. Hiring halls are an old device to prevent exploitation of the workers and disruption of the union. It is true that when hiring halls are used, a man who is not a union member cannot get a job until all union members are employed. But it is also true that a man who will not join the union is not assuming his obligation to support regular conditions of employment; he is not participating in the constitutional self-government of the industry. The closed shop can be abused by closed or autocratic unions, but its absence can be abused by anti-social employers. Justice is not likely to be furthered in such cases by federal legislation that arouses the bitter opposition of organized labor.

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ALMOST NO ATTENTION HAS BEEN PAID BY the American press to a story out of Franco Spain that came to the International Solidarity Committee in New York by way of a letter from Indalecio Prieto, Minister of War in the former Spanish Republican government. Mr. Prieto, now in Paris, describes an incident that took place recently in the Asturian Mountain district of Lavinia. Twenty-two miners, believed by the Civil Guard to be active Socialists and guerrillas, were rounded up and tortured for several days. Let Mr. Prieto finish the account: "Special detachments . . . took [the] . . . prisoners to a place called Rena Mayor . . . where there is a natural well called Pozu Fumeres. [There] they were assassinated. How? By being thrown into the well. The lucky ones died by the impact of their bodies against the walls; the least lucky, in an excess of suffering, maintained life for several days. Cries of agony came from the well which, when mingled with an insufferable odor, announced the tragedy. The executioners finished them off by exploding, between the dying and the dead, sticks of dynamite which ignited the gasoline they had poured over them. Thus, they were sure that none . . . would survive."

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FROM NOW ON, PLANTS AND ANIMALS IN the Soviet Union will transmit acquired characteristics, or the Central Committee of the Communist Party—and the M. V. D.—will know the reason why. At the recent eight-day conference of the All Union Academy of Agricultural Science in Moscow, T. D. Lysenko, Soviet plant breeder, fought and won a war against the "Western and bourgeois" genetic theories of Mendel and Morgan—and against the Soviet scientists who have been persuaded by these heresies. The chromosome theory of inheritance was ruled out, and Mr. Lysenko's line that environment is all and that acquired characteristics can be transmitted was upheld. But this victory for Soviet science was achieved only after long-drawn-out debates, in which one opposing scientist accused Lysenko of misrepresenting the position of those he attacked. Another cited a large number of experiments which seemed to support the chromosome theory, and still another actually suggested that Soviet science should not be confined to the theories of one school but should explore them all. It was apparently a very lively debate, until Lysenko revealed, after his opponents had stuck their necks out, that *his* theories had the approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The opposition gave up on the spot, and several of its members hurriedly announced their complete submission to Lysenko and the Central Committee—in the hope, no doubt, of avoiding transfer to another environment. At the end of the conference, the delegates adopted—unanimously—a letter to Premier Stalin declaring that Soviet agricultural science is the most advanced in the world. [N. B. A little book has just been published in Moscow, by one Genady Fish, proving that the best American wheat, alfalfa, and apples are all of Russian origin.]

The article by Alexander Werth on Russian-Yugoslav relations, announced for this issue, will appear next week.

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G. O. P. Perspectives

NOT long ago, Governor Dewey informed a gathering of Republican leaders that their party "does not look backward. It looks forward." But to judge from their latest crop of pronouncements, the leaders themselves appear to be looking forward, backward, sideward, and directions in between. At a momentous meeting in Albany last week, the shape of the coming G. O. P. campaign was hammered out, and, even as campaign shapes go, it appears to be an odd one.

To begin with, the heads of the Republican ticket will say as little as possible about their own Eightieth Congress, and they want to hear even less. Vice-Presidential nominee Earl Warren has been dubious right along about the record of that august body, and expressed himself quite forcefully on the subject at the Philadelphia convention. Arriving in the East last week to confer with Dewey, he was equally bearish about the special session, refusing to comment except to apply to its proceedings the cryptic adjective "precipitate." But Senator Ives, whose views reflect Mr. Dewey's to a marked degree, was more open. "Governor Dewey," he said, "will unfold his own program [and] it is my judgment that most of the candidates for Congress will be running on the position he takes on major issues, and not on Congress's record."

At the same time, those who are most responsible for the conduct of the Eightieth Congress, knowing that they can hardly escape challenge, are preparing to brazen it out. After lunching with the same Governor Dewey who plans to ignore the party's recent legislative record, Speaker Joseph W. Martin blandly told the press, "We're going to brag about it as the most constructive Congress in many years."

Equally bewildering will be the Republican line on inflation. To Warren, the paramount domestic issue is prices. But to Herbert Brownell, Dewey's campaign manager, the people of the United States are "more intensely interested" in alleged Communist penetration of the government than they are in the cost of living—a reading of the public mind that the average housewife should find wryly amusing.

Even where there is agreement among Republican leaders that something must be done about inflation, there is a variety of opinion both as to its cause and its cure. The commonest inclination is to shrug it off as the consequence of the government's "orgy of spending," although the Republicans, for all their talk, were able to make only negligible reductions in the federal budget, and those chiefly at the expense of the national welfare. According to the President, they have actually succeeded in throwing the Treasury into the red by means of their ill-timed and inequitable reduction of taxes. Other Republican strategists will cling to the classic view that the inflationary crisis is a direct product of government "restrictions" and forced wage increases. Any explanation, in short, except the removal of price controls—which by their own predictions was to have lowered prices in a matter of months.

It remained for Charles Halleck, however, to lay down the line for the still powerful isolationist bloc of the G. O. P. Not content with the other Republican approaches to inflation, the House majority leader has pinned the high cost of living directly on the Administration's foreign policy—the "bi-partisan" policy that supposedly would be kept out of the campaign entirely. In a 15,000-word reply to the President's attacks on Congress, Mr. Halleck finds the "root cause" of inflation to lie in "the betrayals at Quebec, Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam"—and, even more, in the "$30 billion in aid given to foreign countries since the cessation of hostilities." The theory is that the various "deals" made by President Roosevelt during the war strengthened the Soviet Union, thereby necessitating present defense expenditures. Mr. Halleck appears to think it would have been cheaper to have slapped the Russians down when they were our allies, however much that course might have jeopardized our chances of victory and prolonged a war that was costing us a quarter of a billion dollars a day—not to mention the lives of our men.

Even accepting Halleck's padded figure of 30 billions, it is a little hard to see it as a major factor in the inflation picture. The national product for the three years since the end of hostilities totaled twenty times that amount. In other words, taking the most swollen relief figure and the narrowest point of view, we find that our foreign-aid program has accounted for no more than 5 per cent of the inflation; yet the cost of living in the same period has risen more than 40 per cent. Mr. Halleck's "root cause" would thus account for less than one-eighth of the rise in prices. Could fantastic profits have something to do with the remaining seven-eighths?

The evidence so far is that the Republicans have yet to find an issue that will stand the weight of a campaign. Even Halleck wants the Republican Party to take credit for the Marshall Plan. "We established the Economic Cooperation Administration," he writes, "with directions for administering the foreign aid in a business-like, efficient way." The fight on inflation, too, is merely an effort of the President "to wash away the national scandal" of having had, some years back, a few possible Communists in secondary government jobs. In the end, there is nothing left to fall back on but the faint red shadow of Karl Marx. "The over-all issue" between the Eightieth Congress and the President, Mr. Halleck reveals, was simply "Republicanism against radicalism." Thus does the Grand Old Party rest its case on the findings of the Thomas committee.

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The Stakes at Moscow

AS THE ambassadors of the Western powers enter and leave the Foreign Office in Moscow, the world speculates whether ground for agreement is being reached. There can be no question that such private discussions are far more useful than defiant statements issued at long range. At best, they can lay the groundwork for a conference at higher levels which has a chance of agreement; at worst, they can reveal that no such basis now exists.

Some observers have inferred that what is being decided now is the issue between peace and war. If both sides are ready to come to terms, a whole series of deadlocks that have blocked the construction of a peaceful world order can be resolved. There is not only Berlin, but the future of Germany itself, which is the central difficulty. There are such subsidiary obstacles as disagreement over Danube trade, now monopolized by the Communist states. Perhaps it would be possible to settle even such thorny questions as atomic control and disarmament. If, on the other hand, no mutual satisfaction can be achieved, the cold war may burst into flame.

This interpretation could be true, but the probable alternatives seem to us less final and dramatic. The chief issue is, of course, control of Germany. It would take an optimist indeed to suppose that Russia is willing to surrender permanently the ambition to bury all of Germany within the Communist empire. Certainly, the Western powers are not ready to accede to that ambition. If both these assumptions are correct, there is no immediate hope for a general settlement. Yet the alternative is not necessarily war. Russia could provoke war by invading the Western zones, but it scarcely is willing or ready to incur such a great peril to itself. Nor are the Western advocates of preventive war likely to prevail.

What Russia now seems to be seeking is to press its control as far as possible without meeting armed resistance. The Soviets have been testing the Allied bastions and resolution at every sensitive point. If the conferences convince Russia that it has reached the limit, it may decide to stand where it is. There might even be a change of the party line which would call off the war of nerves and endeavor to prepare for a new phase of long-term policy by some different strategy. But in that case the contest of power would still continue by other means.

There is, however, hope that this present phase of the cold war will be brought to an end before long, whatever the outcome of the diplomatic discussions. The states behind the iron curtain need economic revival and continued progress fully as much as those in the West. Blockades and embargoes deprive them of needed machinery and markets for their output. Most of them are not naturally complementary to the economy of the Soviet Union, and cannot be made so without a long and painful process of forced reorganization. A continuation of rigid control in Russia's political interest is certain to obstruct their natural development and will leave its mark in reduced standards of living. The peoples of the satellite states are not patriotic Russians, and they have not been disciplined by years of Communist dictatorship. A combination of military threat, terror, and propaganda may hold them in line for a while, but pressures are strong for revived trade with the West.

Meanwhile, there are signs of marked improvement in the states of Western Europe. German coal and other production is reviving under the stimulus of the new currency. In Britain and elsewhere, industry is producing an ever-increasing output. On account of large crops, both in the United States and abroad, the chief lack—food—is being more amply overcome. A new Cabinet in France is given power to take needed economic measures and is committed with renewed vigor to European union. One by one, the obstacles confronting the Economic Cooperation Administration are being surmounted. The collapse of Western capitalism, upon which the Communists count, is being postponed. If the leaders of the Cominform are as hard-headed as they are supposed to be, they may soon come to the conclusion that they had better consolidate their gains and wait for a more favorable opportunity. The Communists will risk serious trouble in the lands already won if they continue to ignore the real needs of the conquered population. They know as well as anyone else that the ultimate test of their regime is the retention of popular support.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Campaign Jottings

WITH Minnesota one of the crucial states in the feverish race for control of the next Senate, Republican strategists are none too happy at having to back Joe Ball for re-election. They have three excellent reasons for looking with a jaundiced eye on the unpredictable man whom Stassen made but couldn't manage. The first is that Ball broke party ranks in 1944, when he refused to support Dewey for the Presidency. The second is that when Stassen, hot in pursuit of the Republican nomination, testified before a Senate committee on the Taft-Hartley bill, he was grilled to a turn by Ball, whom he himself had sent to Washington. (Having swung far to the right by that time, Ball found his mentor altogether too mild on the subject of labor legislation, and said so with rather unnecessary emphasis.) And, third, the Republicans of Minnesota appear to sus-

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pect that Ball will be no match for Hubert H. Humphrey in November.

Neither Dewey nor Stassen is of a conspicuously forgiving nature, and it is no secret that efforts were made behind the scenes to induce several other Republicans to contest the primary with Ball. One was Representative Walter H. Judd, but he decided that re-election to the House was a safer objective. Another was Governor Luther W. Youngdahl, who is popular and liberal enough to have given Humphrey a hard fight. The story is that Dewey went so far as to promise Youngdahl a judgeship, in the event that he should make the race and lose; but apparently the governorship still seemed a better bet to the incumbent. Failing to persuade the Governor, Stassen had no further choice. Admitting that he was "keenly disappointed" in Ball's behavior in 1944, in his attitude toward labor, and in his position on aid to Europe, Stassen nevertheless gave him his indorsement.

The Stassen blessing, however, has lost something of its potency. The drubbing he took at Philadelphia and the bitterness of his own row with the party's standard bearer depressed his political stock to the point where he did well to leap at the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania. And now he is compelled to share a major source of his strength in Minnesota—the young voters. Time was when fresh talent from the University of Minnesota was his to command. But today, much of it—and much of the youthful vote along with it—belongs to Humphrey, who, at 34, abandoned a teacher's desk for a mayor's and proceeded to give Minneapolis a more honest and imaginative government than any its oldest inhabitants could remember. What Humphrey doesn't attract in the way of youth is—at least for a time—as likely to go to the Wallace party as to Stassen. Still imbedded in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor coalition, the Wallace people on September 14 will contest Humphrey's nomination through the person of James Shields, former regional director of the National Labor Relations Board. Merely a front-runner, Shields is certain to lose in the primary, which, under Minnesota law, will disqualify him from running on another ticket. The plan is that the Wallaceites will then break formally with the coalition and run former governor Elmer Benson as the nominee of the Progressive Party. The latest poll by the Minnesota *Tribune*, for what it may be worth, shows Humphrey in front with 49 per cent, Ball good for 37 per cent, Benson for 3 to 4 per cent, and the rest undecided.

SEPTEMBER 14 is also an important political date in Colorado. On that day, one of the most aggressive campaigns the state has seen in years will culminate in the primary that will decide the future of "Big Ed" Johnson. The erratic Democratic Senator has managed to represent a normally Republican state for twelve years by pursuing a devious and shifting line and by trading on his scorn of "book larnin'." Johnson is up against the vigorous and internationally minded Gene Cervi, who has made much of the Senator's isolationism, inconsistencies, and generally unpredictable nature. The influential Denver *Post* leans toward Cervi, but Johnson, who stands in well with the Colorado utilities crowd, is favored by the party's national committee on the ground that he is a better bet than Cervi to win in November. In the early days of the New Deal, Johnson found it politically expedient to go along with the Administration, and he still enjoys some lingering labor support for his opposition to the Taft-Hartley act. But his tirades against Roosevelt, his dismal record on inflationary controls, and his primitive approach to foreign relations make him easily expendable.

THE displaced-persons bill put through by the Eightieth Congress is beginning to weigh like a minor nightmare on the chests of Republican leaders—though probably nothing like so oppressively as on its victims. Alarmed by the potent racial animus that inspired it, Senators of both parties denounced the bill on the floor, and Dewey went to the remarkable length of pressing its sponsor, Senator Chapman Revercomb, to accept amendments in the special session.

The complete failure of the party leadership to force the hand of the stubborn West Virginian sends the party into an election campaign with the need to justify itself to Jewish and Catholic voters in particular, and to all voters who shudder at the freezing of prejudice into law. The burden of justification has already been assumed by Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, who made public two letters that flatly promise amendments "if the facts prove that any group was or is unfortunately and unintentionally discriminated against."

One of the communications, addressed to Revercomb himself, is revealingly defensive. The special session, Wiley finds it desirable to explain to his fellow Senator, could only have taken action that would be "inadvisable and unfair to the D. P.'s themselves" in view of "the heavy political atmosphere" that prevailed. He feels it necessary to tell Revercomb publicly that Revercomb's own sub-committee was innocent of the slightest "implication of religious bigotry" when it framed a bill that would all but exclude Jews from its provisions, though it would admit Sudeten Germans. And to prove that no harm was meant, he invites "leaders of America's three great religious faiths" to suggest changes in the law—a plan that did not seem to have occurred to him in the months when the law was being hotly debated. Seemingly, there is no limit to the rectitude of politicians once they are aroused by the still, small voice of conscience and the imminence of an election.

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Church and State in Italy

BY WILLIAM ATTWOOD

IN THE general rejoicing that followed the Communist defeat in the Italian elections this spring, few Americans realized that the Christian Democratic majority was as much a triumph for clericalism as for democracy. Not only was Premier Alcide de Gasperi indebted to the Vatican for the active part it played in the campaign, but his victory gave a resounding affirmative answer to the question of whether Italy was to remain a clerical republic.

The question has generally been soft-pedaled in postwar Italian politics, since it often cuts across party lines, but it was a live issue during the campaign, when the Catholic church openly exerted its tremendous influence on behalf of the Christian Democrats. It remains an issue of great importance today to those Italians—and others—who believe that freedom of religion, and the separation of church and state, are fundamental to democracy.

In Italy today, the question is of particular importance to non-Catholics—millions of free-thinkers, 50,000 Jews, and the 200,000 Protestants who this year celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of their emancipation by the House of Savoy from political discrimination. Members of these minority groups fear that the sweeping Christian Democrat victory will serve to perpetuate and multiply the privileges already enjoyed by the church in Italy—privileges that they feel are not only incompatible with democracy, but contradict the new Italian constitution and violate the terms of the peace treaty with the Allies.

The Vatican's prerogatives spring, of course, from the Lateran Pacts. Consisting of the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat, they were signed on February 11, 1929, by Pope Pius XI and Benito Mussolini (of whom the Pope said, three days later, "There was a need for a man like the one Providence sent us"). Their essence is revealed in the opening phrases, which declare that "the Catholic religion is the only religion of the state."

The pacts became Article 7 of the new constitution in March, 1947, when the Communists in the Assembly joined the Christian Democrats and the extreme right in voting for their adoption. *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican's newspaper, had previously warned that any other course would threaten Italy's "religious peace," and Palmiro Togliatti, the Communist leader, explained his support on the ground of helping to keep the peace. Actually, the Communist action was pure political expediency—an attempt to angle for the peasant vote by not giving the impression of being anti-clerical.

The adoption of the pacts, by a vote of 350 to 149, was immediately criticized by Francesco Xaviere Nitti, the venerable liberal deputy, as "a political and juridical error," and by Lelio Basso, the secretary of the Socialist Party, as a "serious offense to the principle of liberty." It was also attacked by the Union of Italian Jewish Communities as introducing into the constitution "tendencies and principles in open contrast with democracy and the equality of all citizens." And Protestants pointed out that the Assembly's action had violated Article 15 of the peace treaty, which guarantees to all citizens, regardless of religious belief, "the enjoyment of human rights and the fundamental freedoms." Furthermore, Article 5 of the Concordat, which states that "apostate or censured priests cannot be kept . . . in any employment in which they are in direct contact with the public," was held to be incompatible with Article 31 of the constitution, which recognizes the right to work of every citizen "according to his own possibilities and choice."

THE specific grievances of non-Catholics are: First, that Italy, according to Article 36 of the Concordat, must consider "the fundament and coronation of public instruction to be the teaching of Christian doctrine according to the Catholic tradition." This means that Catholic religious instruction is given in all state schools by teachers who have been approved by the church. Nothing has come of an appeal last year by the Italian Jewish community to make religious instruction optional, on the ground that "the right of everybody to educate his own children according to his convictions is a part of liberty."

Second, that there is no way for a non-Catholic to get a divorce in Italy. According to Article 34 of the Concordat, an annulment can be granted by an ecclesiastic tribunal—but only to Catholics.

Third, that excommunicated or apostate priests are denied employment bringing them into direct contact with the public. Under this edict, a priest who renounces Catholicism, and chooses to become a teacher or a Protestant minister, is liable to arrest.

Fourth, that parish priests are paid by the government, as though they were civil servants, out of funds obtained through the taxation of all Italians, Catholic and non-Catholic.

WILLIAM ATTWOOD spent the past two years in Europe for the New York Herald Tribune. *Now in the New York office, he was the* Tribune's *Rome correspondent for three months last spring.*

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Fifth, that the only churches rebuilt by the government, under the war-damage law, have been Catholic ones. The synagogues at Milan, Leghorn, and Bologna are still in ruins. When the Reverend Virgilio Sommani, president of the Council of Protestant Churches of Italy, asked the government in September, 1946, for help in restoring four demolished and ten damaged Protestant churches, he was told—three months later—that "your request will be taken into consideration." But nothing was done.

And, sixth, that the civil authorities, under Article 8 of the Lateran Treaty, prosecute anyone accused of "oral or written offenses against the Pope." Three anti-clerical papers have been banned in this way, and the editor of one, *Il Pollo,* sentenced to two years in jail. A suit is pending against the editor of the last remaining anti-clerical weekly, *Don Basilio,* whose circulation has dropped from 240,000 to 70,000 since the church excommunicated its staff en masse and decreed that buying or selling the paper was a sin.

PRESSURE on non-Catholics is also exercised in a variety of indirect ways.

Item: On October 13, 1947, Francesco Borgongini Duca, the Papal Nuncio to Italy, wrote to Mario Congolani, the Minister of Defense, as follows:

> It has been brought to the knowledge of the Holy See that the captain of carabinieri Francesco Russi, commanding the Matera company, is making propaganda for Protestantism and, regrettably enough, because of his position, with some success. The thing is especially delicate, inasmuch as in this region a revival of non-Catholic proselytism has been noted, particularly among the ignorant and poor classes. On behalf of the secretariat of state of His Holiness, I beg to inform you of this, and to ask you to prevent such a grave abuse.

Despite Article 14 of the constitution, which says that "all have the right freely to profess their religious faith . . . and to make propaganda," a general of carabinieri was dispatched to Matera to conduct an investigation of Captain Russi. Fortunately for the captain, the report was found to be untrue.

Item: In 1944, Italian Protestants were authorized to conduct a half-hour radio program every Sunday afternoon. Several attempts to suppress this broadcast were blocked by appeals to the Allied Military Government. With the end of the occupation, however, it was abruptly cut to twelve minutes, moved back to 7:45 a. m., and no longer announced in the press. The reason for this action, according to a government official, was that "too many Catholics listened to it."

Item: In most rural regions, Catholics who join left-wing political parties have been discriminated against by local priests—long before the famous Lenten letter of Cardinal Schuster of Milan that refused absolution to members of movements contrary to Catholicism. An example can be found in the March, 1947, bulletin of the parish of Chiesi, in Turin province. In an editorial on socialism (which was described as "the most monstrous terror, the beast avid of hate, of vindictiveness and of blood, the destroyer of the liberty of man and of the Catholic faith"), the bulletin declared that "to those who are members of Socialist parties, or their cooperatives, we regret to have to apply certain measures directed by our superiors: (1) Leaders are deprived of sacraments; (2) Members of cooperatives are invited to resign or suffer the same penalty."

In countless other instances, former Fascist laws are invoked to restrict religious freedom. The Pentecostal sect, for example, was disbanded by the Prefect of Naples on November 23, 1947. It was, he said, "prejudicial to public order." Casa Materna, a Protestant orphanage at Portici, has twice been accused, since the war, of giving instruction "contrary to the spirit of the regime." In short, according to Dr. Sommani, the Catholics "ask for religious equality in other nations, but oppose equality for minorities here."

The official Catholic position on this question can be found in a front-page editorial in *L'Osservatore Romano* of September 18, 1946: "Historically and socially, it is absurd to consider all religions equal in all countries. . . . It would be strange if a religion professed by 1,000,000 people should be judged equal to another professed by 40,000,000. . . . In all manifestations of social and political life, the equalitarianism of religions and cults is an absurdity." "In a Catholic state," said Pope Pius XI on April 30, 1929, "the liberty of conscience and religion must be understood according to Catholic doctrine and Catholic law."

LAST year, when evidence of religious discrimination was brought to the attention of Premier de Gasperi by Dr. Charles Fama of the American Evangelical Committee for Relief to Italy, the Prime Minister promised that abuses would be corrected, even if it meant revising the Concordat. But no action has been taken, and, in the opinion of Italian Protestants, none will be so long as the Christian Democrats have a comfortable majority in the Parliament. "The Catholics are rather brash just now," said a young Protestant Italian editor, just before the election, "because they feel that America needs the help of the Vatican in its cold war with Communism."

Catholic politicians have a healthy respect for American public opinion. They would hesitate to pursue anti-democratic policies if they thought these would jeopardize further economic aid. Italy's non-Catholics, therefore, feel that their most effective ally in the fight for full religious freedom would be the influence on their government of the public opinion of an informed America.

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A New Balance for Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

I. Plan or Perish

THE European crisis can be expected to continue for some years to come. Early this past spring, when the Marshall Plan began to assume definite form, certain foreign-affairs experts announced confidently that we had already won the Cold War. A few months later, the same people said that we were now "entering the phase of military war." These vacillations only show how far removed informed persons can be from understanding Europe's problems. Europe is suffering perhaps the severest crisis in its history: a crisis that is, in fact, a great process of transformation. As long as this process goes on, Europe will be extremely vulnerable to pressures from outside. At the same time, the world balance of power will remain critically unstable, for coming changes in Europe will inevitably exert a profound influence on the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The belief that the crisis in Europe was engendered by the devastation of World War II is one of those dangerous half-truths that chiefly serve to conceal the whole truth. Of course, the devastation of the war was serious, and must be repaired. Yet if this by itself would overcome Europe's difficulties, there would be little cause for alarm. Unfortunately, the roots of the crisis lie much deeper. According to the "Survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe"* recently published by the United Nations, "Outside Germany, the 1938 level of industrial output had been virtually restored by the last quarter of 1946." Yet today, two years later, Europe's economic distress endangers the independence of the whole Continent. This alone should show that the crisis, though greatly intensified by the consequences of World War II, was not caused simply by the war.

Europe now must find a new balance, owing to the critical changes that have occurred in the rest of the world in the past ten years, for Europe is more dependent on foreign trade than any other region on earth. A total blockade of the United States would create great hardship, nothing more; a total blockade of Europe would spell death to millions of people. In 1938, the United States received 8 per cent of the world's total imports; Western Europe plus western Germany, more than 48 per cent.

What are the changes since 1938 that necessitate almost superhuman efforts if Europe is to recover an independent position in the post-war world? First, there is the increase in the economic power of the United States compared to the rest of the world. American production today not only exceeds that of 1939 by more than 50 per cent, but its per capita productivity is also much greater. The U. N. survey states: "While the productivity per man in European industry was definitely below the pre-war level in 1947, the productivity per man in the United States's manufacturing industry had increased by 27 per cent between 1938 and the first half of 1947."

The United States is the only power that can give economic aid to Europe; and this aid, which for many European countries represents the difference between a decent living standard and near starvation, amounts to very little in comparison with the national income of the United States. England, for example, will receive approximately $1¼ billion annually in the first years of the Marshall Plan; without this help, British living standards would deteriorate, its raw material and food imports would decline, and the future of England itself be gravely threatened. Yet the annual sum is approximately only one-half of 1 per cent of the gross national production of the United States.

One other statistic throws light on the changed position of America. In 1919 and 1920, the ratio of American exports to gross national production was 9.1 per cent; in 1946 and 1947, despite all our aid to Europe and Asia, the ratio of exports to production was only 5.8 per cent, and it will not be greater in 1948.

SINCE 1938, there has also been a decisive change in the position of Russia, which has become the second world power and by far the strongest power on the Continent. Taken together, the Soviet Union and its satellites contain approximately half of Europe's population. For Western Europe, this immense bloc poses economic as well as political problems.

Before the war, Western Europe's trade with Eastern Europe consisted of an exchange of manufactured products for agricultural produce and raw materials. Western Europe was a "factory," turning out finished goods for

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of "How to Stop Russia—Without War" and "The Coming Crisis." This is the first of two articles dealing with Europe under the Marshall Plan. The second will discuss Germany in particular.

* "A Survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe," United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Geneva, 1918. This is one of the most important current documents on the European economy, and is highly recommended to anyone seriously interested in its problems.

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countries that were far behind it in industrial development. Today, trade between Western and Eastern Europe has reached an all-time low. If the political climate in Europe improves, this state of affairs will change. But it is most unlikely that the trade between the two parts of Europe will ever reach the 1938 level. The countries of Eastern Europe are doing their utmost, through five- or three-year plans which entail serious temporary hardships for the population, to build up their industries and process a large part of their raw materials at home. They are determined to eliminate, or at least diminish, their almost complete dependence on the factories of Western Europe. As the survey points out:

> The expected rate of increase of *industrial* production is, in most cases, considerably higher than that of *agricultural* production, and only two of the countries expect to exceed the pre-war agricultural output by the end of the plans. . . . The plans envisage annual rates of capital investment which are considerably higher in proportion to national income than was the case before the war. Since the national income will generally be lower than in the pre-war period, especially during the early years of the plans, some very real sacrifices are likely to be involved.

The case of Yugoslavia is typical. In a section devoted to Yugoslavia's plans for non-ferrous metals, the survey declares:

> Before the war, copper was exported in the form of metal; the production of electrolytic copper had begun only on a small scale at the outbreak of the war. Lead and zinc were exported in the form of concentrates and ore, and rolling-mill production was negligible. Chrome was exported mainly in the form of concentrates, and production of ferro-chrome was still on a small scale in 1939.
>
> Most of Yugoslavia's production of bauxite was exported to Germany (some 380,000 out of a total production of 400,000 tons). Two aluminum oxide plants existed, with a joint capacity of 3,000 tons; and one aluminum plant, with a capacity of 3,000 tons.
>
> It is now proposed to develop this industry on the basis of cheap electric power envisaged under the plan, and with relatively greater increases in the output of finished products than of metals. The object is to produce a much larger proportion of the metals inside the country, in order to provide materials for other expanding domestic industries, and for export.

This trend is typical of all the Eastern European countries in the present period. Rapid industrialization is, in fact, a major object of the new "democracies" in the Soviet sphere. Western Europe, which made enormous profits from its trade with the industrially backward countries to the east, must now adapt itself to a changed situation. One particular avenue of commercial exploitation is closed forever. The West must make this adjustment at a time when it is gravely impoverished. Formerly, Europe paid for a large part of its imports with the interests on its foreign investments. In the course of the war, most of its assets abroad were lost. The survey states:

> Before the war, Europe imported about one-third, or $2 billion, more than it exported, and this was fully offset by receipts from invisible transactions. Thus a recovery of oversea exports and the restriction of oversea imports to the pre-war levels would still leave a gap of some $4 billion at *current* prices.

Furthermore, British India has now won its independence, and all Asia is on the march; far-reaching changes are inevitable in the economic relations between Western Europe and its former colonial possessions. Here, in brief, we have the changes throughout the world that necessitate a fundamental transformation of Europe.

In the last century, the United States carried out the conquest of a continent extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; in the course of this expansion into virgin territory, it produced the greater part of its food and raw materials, so that foreign trade was never large in comparison with production. The development of Europe was diametrically opposite. Industrial Europe organized around itself an enormous periphery of countries in a pre-industrial or semi-industrial stage; it was the factory for Russia, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Some 250,000,000 Western Europeans, constituting the "hands," manufactured goods for a market of more than 1.2 billion consumers.

This historical epoch was drawing to an end before 1939. World War II only accelerated the process. Europe must now adapt itself to this situation, both in its foreign trade and in its production. In order to reach a new economic balance, it will not be enough for Europe to turn out as much goods as in 1938. The survey discusses the problem in the light of the altered world situation:

> This gap will therefore have to be filled by higher exports or lower imports, since invisible receipts will not be available to cover it. This would require, in relation to the 1938 levels of trade, a 50 per cent increase in exports or a 36 per cent contraction in imports. In relation to the 1947 levels of trade, an increase of 114 per cent in exports or a decrease of 53 per cent in imports would be required to bring Europe's overseas trade into balance.
>
> It is sufficient to state these figures to realize that the restoration of equilibrium will not be *possible without basic changes in the structure of the European economy* and that it could not be undertaken except as a result of a *gradual process of adjustment extending over a number of years.* (Italics mine).

This immense increase in Europe's exports, or reduction in its imports, can obviously be achieved only by stepping up European production far beyond pre-war

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levels. As the survey points out, "The heavy industries of European countries need to be expanded by some 40 to 50 per cent over their 1938 production, in order both to close the gap in the balance of payments and to maintain the pre-war standard of living." An impoverished Europe must carry out this enormous expansion, increasing by 50 per cent the production of its leading industries, if it wants to preserve its independence.

A continent split into a number of small nations will never be able to complete this process. As long as Western Europe had an industrially backward periphery, four to five times larger than the core, it could afford the luxury of many separate national economies. Today, this periphery is swiftly vanishing, and Europe is exposed to the pressure of two gigantic political and military powers. In these circumstances, the price of disunion is economic collapse and certain loss of freedom.

THE question of unity is, however, inseparably bound up with the social structure of the Continent. The necessary transformation of Europe implies not only an increase in foreign trade and production, not only political unification; it also involves profound social change. One thing is certain: the "free" capitalism of pre-war days can never return. Planning is the watchword today, in Western as in Eastern Europe. Planning is an essential part of the European Recovery Program, despite American distaste for the idea. But it is a mistake to imagine that planning alone is a guarantee of progress. The German war economy of 1933-1939 was a planned economy, more comprehensive than that of England or Western Europe today, but it was the planned economy of a reactionary state and its purpose was preparation for war.

A post-war planned economy, uninfluenced by the two world powers, would, in all probability, assume democratic Socialist forms; while developing the productive capacity of Europe, it would also be able to preserve the political and personal liberties that are the heritage of the French Revolution. But in its present situation, Europe cannot remain uninfluenced; it is the political and economic battlefield of the two world powers. Russia has already exploited the European crisis for the enlargement of its own orbit, while the United States threatens to make Europe semi-dependent, through economic aid and the controls set up for its utilization. Up to now, such relations of semi-dependency have existed only between industrially developed countries and backward countries that have become colonies or quasi-colonies. But today, there is a strong possibility that the United States, by the sheer weight of its position as the most powerful industrial country in the world, will convert the Western European "factory" into a permanent subsidiary.

Such an outcome would defeat the hope of a Europe reorganized as a planned economic entity on democratic lines, independent of both Russia and America and able to surmount the loss of its own dependent areas. The survey states the problem in carefully chosen words: "The danger exists that if adequate remedial measures are not taken to work out a more tenable balance, the economic structure of both Europe and the United States may become so adjusted to the disequilibrium as to create strong pressures tending to perpetuate it."

Clearly, there is no ground for passive optimism with regard to the future of Europe. The greatest exertions of all progressive groups, particularly in the United States, will be necessary to help Europe in such a way that it can stand on its own feet, free to maintain its domestic institutions on the one hand and, on the other, to carry through the social changes called for by new world situations.

In the Wind

GEORGE HERMAN "BABE" RUTH died at 8:01 p. m., Monday, August 16, 1948. At 9 a. m., Tuesday, August 17, there were envelopes bearing the imprint of the Dubonnet Music-Publishing Company, 1619 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., on the desks of every editor of *The Nation*. The envelopes were all postmarked 11:14 p. m., the previous night—three hours and thirteen minutes after the Sultan of Swat had breathed his last.

Upon being opened, every communication turned out to consist of a double-page of sheet music. From the middle of the magenta-tinted cover of each, the face of somebody looking very much like a kewpie doll with *innenleben*, and very little like Babe Ruth, stared out into space across an area sprinkled with five-pointed stars. The portrait was framed within the following titles and signatures: "Safe at Home—A Tribute to Our Beloved 'Babe Ruth.' By Jack Rollins and Perry Alexander." The refrain of this threnody is hereby reprinted for the sake of posterity: "Safe at home, Safe at home, Yes tonight the mighty Babe is safe at home. I can hear them cheering now, as he takes another bow, And the Master Umpire calls out 'SAFE AT HOME.'"

HERE IS A STORY from the Northwest, where recent floods, among other things, partially ruined four golf courses in Portland, Oregon. One course not swamped by the flood waters was that of Tualatin, Portland's Jewish country club. Its members immediately offered "refugee" golfers from other clubs the run of Tualatin and club privileges for any day in the week. The board of directors of Waverly, most exclusive of the city's clubs, likewise undamaged by the high water, also gave the run of their grounds to "refugee" golfers—gentile refugees, that is. But the Waverly officials specified that such sanctuary would be offered only on Mondays—the day the course is open to caddies.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item printed.*]

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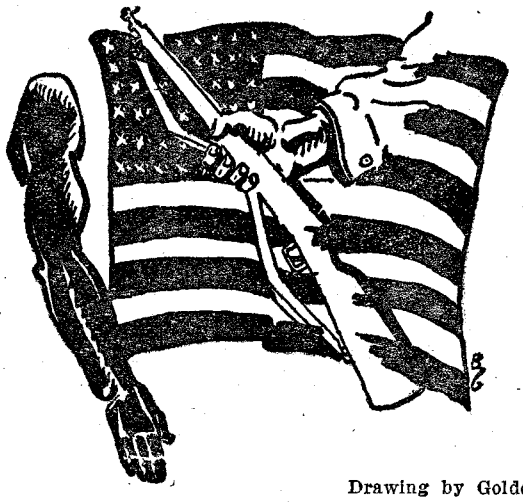
A Triumph for Civil Disobedience

BY GRANT REYNOLDS

ONE Negro columnist stated early in July that Congress, by enacting a draft devoid of anti-segregation safeguards, had called the bluff of those Negro leaders urging civil disobedience. This statement is true in the sense that the House and Senate rejected the specific civil-rights amendments introduced by Senator Langer, Congresswoman Helen Douglas, and others. But such legislative inaction, which blithely ignored the implications of an organized resistance to the draft by America's largest minority, was only one more example of Congressional irresponsibility and indifference to public sentiment.



Drawing by Golden

In contrast, the enunciation of the civil-disobedience idea created, from the very beginning, a deep concern in the Executive branch of the government—the branch that would have the responsibility of prosecuting or ignoring the leaders and rank-and-file members of the movement; of explaining this embarrassing movement to the peoples of the world; and of handling the thorny segregation issue for those Negroes who would enter the services, but under sullen protest.

In our eyes, the same concern accounts for the issuance of the President's executive order abolishing discrimination in the armed services. It accounts for the President's repudiation, in effect, of General Omar Bradley's statement that the army would cleave to segregation as long as the country as a whole retained it. Until recently, Negroes were by no means satisfied with the executive order, because it did not specifically mention segregation, and undertook to have the order clarified and expanded to include the outlawing of segregation. We feel that this was accomplished when, on August 3, Senator J. Howard McGrath, speaking for the President, met with two of our representatives and told them that it is "unquestionably" the intent of the executive order to eliminate segregation from the armed services, and that the seven-man advisory committee established under the order would be composed of civilians and would "initiate its activities and functions on the basis of non-segregation." It has been the position of A. Philip Randolph and myself, from the beginning, that the civil-disobedience movement would be terminated if Congress enacted an anti-segregation amendment, or if the President, as Commander-in-Chief, established non-segregation as the official policy of the armed services.

Few ideas or proposals that have been placed before the conscience of America in recent years have so divided and disturbed the progressive forces as has our recommendation. We offered it, before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 31, only after all other efforts had proved unavailing. Our conference with President Truman nine days before had been preceded by conferences with Republican and Democratic leaders of both the House and Senate, and by endless correspondence with all Senators and Representatives. No assurances of an anti-segregation policy were forthcoming. Though Mr. Randolph and I testified before the Senators as officers of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, we made it plain that our proposal came from us as individuals, since there were members of our committee who, for philosophical or economic reasons, could not indorse our stand.

I was convinced of the idea's effectiveness as soon as the testimony was concluded. We had sat in the Senate committee room all morning, and observed the cool and indifferent treatment that was given to representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other race-relations organizations whose proposals were couched in familiar legal and Constitutional terms. It wasn't until Mr. Randolph and I laid down the civil-disobedience "ultimatum" that the Senators across the table, including Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, came to life and seemed to realize that here was something new to contend with. By Senator Morse's own subsequent admission on the Senate floor, Negroes strongly resented his suggestion that our proposal was treason—and the best legal opinion we

GRANT REYNOLDS, a member of the New York State Commission of Correction, is National Chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, and was an executive of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

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have been able to obtain disputes Morse's interpretation. While his statement may have frightened some Negro youths and their parents, the voluminous mail addressed to Mr. Randolph and myself indicates that it largely had the effect of rallying support behind us.

Whatever other benefits arise from our testimony, it can be said, unequivocably, that it startled white America more than any other "racial" event in many years, including the most brutal lynchings. It is difficult for even largely uninformed whites to maintain any longer that Negroes "desire to be with themselves." For, in that brief hour's testimony, we informed the nation and the world that segregation was reaching an unbearable point. The response we received shows that Negroes are now ready, in 1948, to go beyond the discussion, petition and protest stage.

The importance of civil disobedience as a pressure technique, by the way, can be appreciated when one contemplates the effect that the prosecution of even one Negro youth would have had on the election chances of any Presidential candidate. Official Washington, alert to campaign considerations, was fully aware of this political dynamite.

Although the civil-disobedience movement was called off because our terms were met, Negroes will unquestionably cast their eyes around to see whether or not a program of non-compliance is feasible in other areas of segregation. Among those that come to mind are schools in the South, intra-state Jim-Crow transportation, and segregated public facilities. Agitation for racial justice broke out of traditionally respectable bounds on March 31, and I, for one, do not believe that Negroes will ever again be satisfied with the mere issuance of educational and propaganda material or with the hat-in-hand approach to members of legislative bodies or to the White House itself.

Consumers Last

BY SYDNEY J. NEAL

DURING the past year, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in the course of its fuel investigation, has been concerned with the question of petroleum prices and profits. In February, a number of hearings were devoted especially to that subject and, on February 26, the committee addressed a questionaire to twenty-one integrated* oil companies. On June 14, a progress report was submitted to the House of Representatives summarizing some of the facts in the matter, outlining some of the reasons given by the industry for current high prices and earnings, and containing the complete replies of all but one company to the committee's questionaire.

The document, which has been named the "Wolverton report," after Representative Charles A. Wolverton (Rep., N. J.), chairman of the committee, does not attempt to answer the critical question: Are present petroleum prices and profits in the public interest? The answer, the Congressmen say, must come as "an integral part of a national fuel policy which has yet to be developed—a fuel policy whose objective it is to assure the availability at all times of sufficient fuels and energy resources to meet the needs of the United States in times of peace and war." It is the hope of the committee that publication of the report will stimulate further thought along these lines on the part of the government and the general public, to the end of assisting the committee to formulate a national fuel policy.

*An integrated oil company is one that operates in two or more branches of the oil industry—namely, production (oil wells), transportation (pipe lines and tankers), refining, and/or marketing.

The tremendous increases in prices and profits which have occurred since 1945 are very completely recorded in the Wolverton report. Taking the years 1943-1945 as a base, crude prices had risen $1.39 per barrel—from $1.20 to $2.59—by last April, an increase of 116 per cent. The average price of refined products had increased $1.69 per barrel—from $2.03 to $3.72—or 83 per cent. These price boosts have been accompanied by increases in company net earnings, which reached the highest net profits in the history of the industry during the first quarter of 1948. Taking the same period of high profits (in relation to pre-war years) as a base, the net income of the twenty replying integrated oil companies had doubled by 1947, and current first-quarter earnings indicate that 1948 net income will be double that of 1947.

In the light of these facts, the oil companies were asked, "What were the reasons [that] impelled your company . . . to initiate or to follow price increases for crude [oil] and [petroleum] products?"

As part of this inquiry, the committee recalled that at least one of the major oil companies, Standard Oil of New Jersey, publicly opposed, in July, 1947, any further increase in the price of crude oil. It had already risen from $1.35, under the OPA, to $1.95 when Mr. Eugene Holman, president of the company, told the committee

SYDNEY J. NEAL has made an extensive study of the oil industry in the course of preparing a research thesis at the University of Chicago.

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on July 9 that, in his opinion, further price increases would not result in any improvement in the delivered product, or enable the industry to step up deliveries in the immediate future.

In October, however, the price of crude oil was increased 20 cents to $2.15 a barrel, and on November 28, 1947, the Sun Oil Company led the way in a fifty-cent increase that eventually raised crude prices generally to $2.65 a barrel. Mr. Holman, in a statement to the press on November 29, reiterated his belief that the increase was not in the public interest, since "construction and drilling materials continue to be the bottleneck." Mr. Alonzo W. Peake, president of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, also declared *his* company's opposition to an increase at that time. Within ten days, however, both firms had followed the lead of Sun Oil.

In the February hearings, Mr. Robert G. Dunlop, president of Sun Oil, and Mr. Monroe J. Rathbone, then president of the Esso Standard Oil Company, stated that the primary motive of the integrated oil companies in increasing crude prices had been to increase their ability to purchase oil from independent producers. This position was taken again in the replies to the committee questionaire. The companies invariably stated that they were attempting to offset the payment of premiums by other purchasers of crude oil. Standard Oil of New Jersey expressed the industry's view when it stated:

> A refusal to pay going market prices results in losing crude supplies in amounts that would prevent our fulfilment of product-sales contracts and supply obligations to our customers.

Sun Oil also contended that the fifty-cent increase it had initiated stimulated the production of crude oil, but Standard Oil of New Jersey answered that contention by stating:

> Whether or not all, or most, of the added crude production, or only a small part of it, may be attributed to the crude price increases, is a matter of conjecture and not subject to proof one way or another.

In any case, even Sun Oil does not state that it initiated the increase of November, 1947, in order to spur production. It simply stated that "the action was taken in an effort to obtain sufficient supplies of crude oil."

The evidence contained in the report thus makes it quite clear that the increases in the price of crude oil have resulted from the jockeying for position among the major oil companies. The facts concerning profits show just as clearly that the increases have been passed on to the consumer.

The committee asked, "Why was it not feasible for your company to absorb higher crude prices, at least to the extent of captive crude production?" "Captive" production refers to the large percentage of oil—from 15 to 65 per cent, depending on the concern—going to a refinery direct from an oil well owned by the refining company. Some of the industry's replies would be ludicrous if the situation were not so grave.

Standard Oil of New Jersey advanced the argument that, as a matter of public policy rather than of profit, the integrated companies should pass on to the consumer every increase in the cost of crude oil. This, Standard said, would maintain—for the benefit of the consumer—existing competition between and among integrated and non-integrated companies. Such concern, touching as it is, does not explain how the consumer is to benefit from the economics of integration, which all of the companies so eloquently extoled in other replies to the questionaire.

Sun Oil and many of its colleagues stated that lowering prices would result in an increased demand for oil products that the industry would be unable to meet. In this respect, Sun Oil stated:

> Since, during the period under consideration [the] Sun Oil Company was not in a position to satisfy any such sudden surge of additional business without impairing its ability to serve its own customers, it became imperative that we meet any such situation through the medium of advancing our prices to meet those of our competition in each area.

The reply does not explain why it was not feasible to maintain lower prices while giving priority to regular customers.

THE answers to the questionaire reveal that the industry does not find high profits undesirable. It attempts to justify those profits in two ways. First, by contending that corporate earnings, as reported, must be discounted—at least 25 per cent, according to the Socony-Vacuum reply—because depreciation and depletion charges are based upon original, rather than replacement, costs; second, the industry maintains, as Mr. Dunlop stated during the February hearings, that "current prices serve the public welfare, for upon them depend adequate supplies in the future." All of the replies emphasized the need for product prices sufficiently high to result in net earnings with which to finance the required expansion of facilities.

"What justifies the financing of facilities largely out of earnings rather than further stock and bond issues?" asked the committee, which had wondered "why present consumers should be called upon to foot the bill for the industry's expansion program." Not all companies were as frank as Socony-Vacuum in replying, "the word 'justifies' seems not the most appropriate term to designate the reasoning behind the decisions of corporate management in respect to methods of financing its requirements." Management, Socony-Vacuum continued, does what it considers best for the corporation. Other replies maintained that the financing of a large part of

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expansion from current earnings is the "best thing," because capital requirements are so high that large-scale external financing would unbalance financial structures. It would not be prudent to saddle the corporations with large bonded or long-term debt, they contended, and equity financing is difficult in current markets. The Atlantic Refining Company had this to say:

> We are well aware that large book profits may impair our public relations and make negotiations with labor organizations more difficult. We wish it were possible quickly to finance expansion with outside capital, thus increasing supply and checking price rises. Unfortunately, the market for capital is in bad condition, for reasons beyond our control, and hence, charging our customers is the only method available currently by which we can expand.

The industry does not appear to agree with the Wolverton committee that the cost of the present expansion program is being borne by the customers rather than by the stockholders. "Is not the present stockholder paying the bill in foregoing dividends?" asked Mr. John W. Boatwright, an executive of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. In the light of the fact that dividends have increased substantially, Mr. Wolverton replied that stockholders did not seem to be hurt very much. Mr. Dunlop answered for the industry that the retention of a large portion of earnings was necessary "to safeguard the original investment through maintaining the dynamic nature of the enterprise."

On the whole, the industry claims that the present level of prices and profits is not too high. Mr. Rathbone testified:

> I think the test as to whether the price of oil is too high or not—one of the tests at least—lies in consumption. If the price were too high, certainly the consumption would be affected adversely.

This impelled Mr. Wolverton to reply:

> It may be that there will come a point beyond which you cannot go because of [consumer] resistance, but the point has not been reached, nor is it likely to be reached, in my opinion, for a long time to come, and it enables, it would seem, the oil companies to take advantage of that unusual demand by continuing to increase their prices.

It would seem reasonable to conclude that, in the absence of government controls, we can expect petroleum prices and profits to continue to increase until the consumption of petroleum products levels off or declines. Mr. Wolverton's hope that further thought on the part of industry will help to formulate a national fuel policy seems to be a futile one. Industry, as has been demonstrated in the Wolverton report and thousands of other places, acts only in its own interests, during an inflation or any other time. The public interest lies in quite another direction.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

FROM time to time, there has been talk of an atomic superbomb a thousand times more powerful than the "ordinary" uranium or plutonium bomb. I refer to the deuterium (heavy-hydrogen) bomb, which does not now exist but probably will be produced some day in the not-too-distant future.

Before the war, it was proved that the collision of two heavy-hydrogen nuclei led, under conditions of sufficiently high temperature and pressure—produced by the explosion of a plutonium or uranium bomb—to the formation of a new atomic nucleus (hydrogen or helium of weight 3) and the release of a neutron and energy. The amount of energy released is comparable, weight for weight, with that released by the fission of uranium or plutonium.

A deuterium bomb can be made much larger than one of the present A-bombs, which have a very limited size range. Below a certain critical size, fission bombs cannot be made to explode—above it, they cannot be prevented from going off. The only size limits imposed on the deuterium bomb are the lift and range capacities of its carrier, plane or rocket, and the amount of material that can be made to react in the millionths of a second within which nuclear reactions take place. The bomb will explode only when the smaller uranium or plutonium trigger is fired. Responsible physicists have stated privately that two more years of work on a war-time scale by the Manhattan District could have made the deuterium bomb an actuality. Moreover, current research on heavy hydrogen, a substance of special importance to theoretical as well as applied nuclear physics, is advancing the date of actual demonstrations.

OPTIMISTIC prospects for the commercial development of atomic power were contained in the Atomic Energy Commission's recent fourth semi-annual report to Congress. Considering that the forecast was prepared by the AEC's General Advisory Committee, which hitherto had been extremely bearish in its estimates of atomic-power potentials, it is important to note that the report says atomic power may prove cheaper than coal and, in twenty years, may well outrank coal and electric power as an industry. The AEC's forecast is qualified by an important condition: that "breeder piles" prove practical. So far only a theoretical possibility, a breeder will produce nuclear fuel in much the same way as the Hanford, Washington, piles produce plutonium, but more than was originally charged into it. Large-scale development of atomic energy, however, will be impossible without batteries of "breeder piles," since supplies of the only neutrally occurring nuclear fuel (uranium 235) are currently limited.

Reporting that the world's first high-temperature pile is now being built at the Argonne National Laboratory in Chicago, the AEC stated that it "should be completed in the next two or three years" and that "fairly practical reactors . . . may be available on an experimental basis within a decade."

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Swedish Politics and Economics

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

I. Before the Elections

WHEN I was in Sweden in June, I heard a good deal of talk about the coming general election on September 19, though, with the vacation season about to start, no active campaigning was in evidence. However, a Gallup poll just made public had aroused much interest, for it suggested that the Social Democratic Party, which has held power since the wartime national government was dissolved in the summer of 1945, was likely to be hard put to retain its position.

The following table shows the number of seats held by the different parties in the Second Chamber of the *Riksdag* (the Swedish Parliament) and the proportionate distribution of votes at the last election in 1944 and according to the Gallup Poll:

		Percentage of Votes	
Party	*Seats*	*1944*	*Gallup: June, 1948*
Conservatives	39	16	14
Farmers' Union	35	13	14
Peoples' Party	26	13	22
Social Democrats	115	47	42
Communists	15	10	8
Workers' Party	—	1	—

It will be seen that with less than half the total vote, the Social Democrats won exactly half the seats. However, they have been able to carry out their program, since on most issues they receive the rather grudging votes of the Communists, while in the indirectly elected First Chamber they command an over-all majority. But as Sweden's leading party, their position has been slowly deteriorating. The communal (city and county council) elections in 1946 gave them only 44 per cent of the votes cast; now the Gallup poll indicates a further decline.

Ernst Wigforss

Caricature by Seligson

One reason for this loss of ground, perhaps, has been a difficulty about leadership. The death of Per Albin Hansson, the simple, forceful, and much beloved Prime Minister who had led the Social Democrats for over twenty years, was a serious loss for the party. Moreover, there was no unanimity about the succession. Many members of the party thought that Gustav Möller, chief architect of Sweden's social-security system, had an outstanding claim. Ernst Wigforss, Minister of Finance and definitely the most forceful personality in the movement, did not agree. The upshot was the choice of a compromise candidate—Tage Erlander, well-liked and intelligent, but generally described as "rather colorless."

While the Social Democrats have been suffering a modest decline in popularity, the group immediately to their right, the Peoples' Party, sometimes referred to as the Liberals, has made almost sensational gains—sensational, that is, in terms of Sweden, where both the public temper and the electoral system make for narrow political swings. If the Gallup figures are to be trusted, it is today easily the largest opposition party. Occupying a position a little to the left of center, with political ideas akin to those of the New Deal, it appears to have grown at the expense of the Conservatives as well as the Social Democrats.

THERE seem to be two main reasons for the increasing popularity of the Peoples' Party. First, it is in a better position than any other opposition group to capitalize current discontents. Sweden today is both exceedingly prosperous and suffering from the economic indigestion that is apt to accompany over-full employment. Standards of living for most people are higher than ever before, but at the same time there are scarcities, including a shortage of dollars, that are forcing a drastic cut in imports. Thus, prosperity is tempered by rationing of many foods and a few other commodities and by irksome controls for which the government is naturally held responsible. Such considerations will not sway the solid working-class core of the Social Democratic Party, but they tend to influence unattached voters who normally support it. Since these independents instinctively distrust the Conservatives—the party of the aristocracy and big business—they naturally gravitate to-

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ward the centrist Peoples' Party which, while formally anti-Socialist, is committed to the general principles of a planned economy and to social reform.

A second factor in the advance of the Peoples' Party is the very able leadership of Bertil Ohlin, a professor of economics who has proved an astute Parliamentarian and a brilliant debater. His position is not entirely an easy one. As a politician, he must frequently defend policies which, as an economist, he might find hard to justify. Moreover, his party is made up of rather disparate elements. On the one hand, it includes a good many university and professional men and women, intellectuals and freethinkers; on the other, it draws strength from small business men and farmers, who are mainly Evangelical Lutherans with strong views on the subject of temperance. Consequently, as an irreverent journalist explained to me, the leader of the party has to be something of a social tightrope walker: he need not be quite teetotal, if he is careful to limit his drinking; he may swear, but his oaths had better be mild ones; he may avoid acknowledgment of a Divine Providence, so long as he doesn't publicly avow agnosticism.

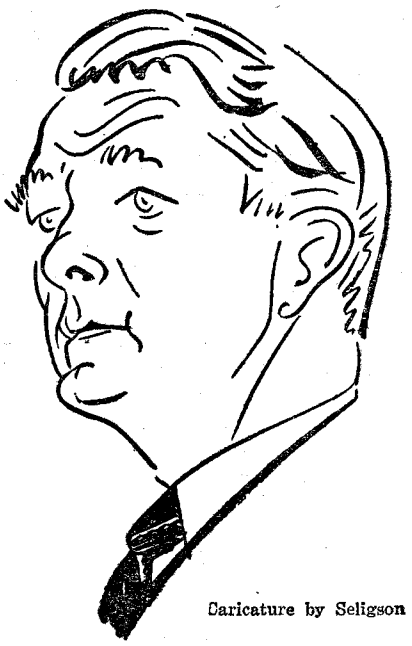
LEADERS of all political parties to whom I talked in Stockholm assured me that the coming general election would be the hardest-fought in years. It was not easy to discover, however, what burning issues divided the contestants. The Social Democratic platform is the post-war program that the party adopted jointly with the closely allied trade-union movement in 1944. This program emphasizes three major themes: (a) Full employment; (b) an improvement in living standards, partly by means of a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced and partly by (c) higher efficiency in production and more democracy in economic life.

Since the Social Democratic government took office, full employment has been maintained and some important strides have been made toward fulfilment of the second section of the program. Under the guidance of Gustav Möller, Minister of Social Welfare, the Swedish social-security system has been vastly extended. Among the innovations are old-age pensions for all on a more generous scale than before, with supplementary allowances, subject to a means test, for those who must pay high city rents; subsidized vacations for housewives and school children; a wider public-health service including free hospital care for all; children's allowances, to reduce the disparity in living standards between those with large families and those with few children or none.

To finance these benefits, Wigforss, as Minister of Finance, brought forward a new tax program that caused much anguish in the upper brackets. Corporation taxes were raised from 32 to 40 per cent—the American level; income and property taxes were increased; a new and steeply graduated estate duty was introduced. The last item, long a commonplace in America and Britain, was particularly criticized by the well-to-do. Naturally, this program was sharply attacked in the *Riksdag*; but it was put through and it is doubtful if the opposition parties will make it a major election target, though they may attempt to arouse fears that high taxes on large properties are merely a prelude to general confiscation.

THE campaign, in fact, is not likely to include any wholesale attacks on the government's record. Peoples' Party leaders told me that their propaganda would be mainly directed against nationalization of industry. This appears to be a very academic subject at the present time, though the third section of the Social Democratic program no doubt means support for the general principle of nationalization. In Sweden, most public utilities have long been owned either by the state or by municipalities, but 95 per cent of manufacturing remains in the hands of private enterprise. Apart from acquiring the few remaining privately owned branch railroads—main lines have always been public property in Sweden—and buying into some industrial enterprises, the government has not attempted to make further advances toward socialization.

Nor, so far as I could learn, is the Social Democratic Party planning anything of the kind in the near future. It is true that the government has been investigating the possibility of nationalization of the import and distribution of petroleum products, now in the hands of subsidiaries of the big international trusts. But this project, if not abandoned, seems to be in abeyance. It has been strongly opposed by the Swedish cooperative movement which, with the aid of the American oil cooperatives, is itself looking forward to a crack at the private monopolies. Moreover, with a world shortage of oil and all major sources in the hands of the trusts, this is not a very propitious moment for nationalization. For unless Sweden were able to secure an oil concession somewhere, it might find that, after taking over the storage tanks and filling stations, it could not buy gasoline to distribute.



Caricature by Seligson

Bertil Ohlin

In any case, the approach of the Swedish Social Demo-

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crats to socialization is a cautious and pragmatic one. They are not likely to nationalize any industry without convincing evidence that it is necessary either to curb a monopoly or to promote efficiency. Peoples' Party spokesmen profess not to believe this: they assured me that the Social Democrats had a lot of nationalization projects up their sleeves which they hoped to keep concealed until after the elections. Consequently, the Peoples' Party is attempting to force disclosure of such plans so that it may attack them in detail. This seems to me to be flogging, not so much a dead horse, as a still unborn one.

[*Next week, in the second part of this article, Mr. Hutchison will discuss the most vulnerable aspect of the Swedish government's record, its failure to grapple firmly with inflation, and will explain why the opposition parties are inhibited in making this failure a major issue of their campaign.*]

Rural Awakening in the Near South

BY ARMAND PETER RUDERMAN

THERE is a rural awakening in the Near South. In the hilly borderland of eastern Tennessee, between the Atlantic coastal plain and the westward sweep of the cotton South, farmers are throwing off old apathies and building a new prosperity through cooperation. The heart of this movement is Greene County, Tennessee, whose county seat, Greeneville, is the chief burley-tobacco market.

Greeneville's two long business streets are lined with stores, flour and feed mills, cafes, and movie houses. On the edges of town are the bulk tank stations of the oil companies, the Big Four and Independent tobacco warehouses, the Pet condensery and ice cream plant. Farmers throng into town every Saturday to do their shopping. In the tobacco-buying season, the Brumley Hotel is crowded with business men. New industry arrived in 1947, when the Magnavox Company set up a subsidiary plant to manufacture its cabinets and chassis. The local labor force cannot staff all the stores, warehouses, and new factories. Many farm people rattle in each day in buses to work at skilled or semi-skilled jobs for wages ranging from 65 to 95 cents an hour.

The Farmers' Union invaded the county three years ago and now has more than five hundred members. There are also active herd-and-crop-improvement and erosion-control associations and a flourishing cooperative Farmers' Exchange. The pressure for farm organization was completely indigenous—rising out of local discontent. And there was good reason for the discontent. Until the advent of the TVA, the land was fast losing its fertility. Today, after ten years of propaganda for superphosphates and soil conservation by the TVA and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, the scars of erosion can still be seen. The 1940 Census of Agriculture showed that typical Greene County farms were between fifty and ninety acres—too small to support any family adequately. Yet most of the farms are worked by families that want to stay on their land.

FARMERS complain about tobacco warehousing, livestock markets, milling charges, and scarce fertilizer and farm equipment. But the largest single grievance is the market for milk. Few Greene County farmers produce milk on the scale of commercial dairymen; they sell from one-half to three or four ten-gallon cans a day. While tobacco is the principal cash crop, the man who puts out two full cans of 3.5 test milk every day during the summer gets a check for $80 or $85 every two weeks. Most farmers cannot afford the concrete barn floors or sanitary outside milking parlors which the law requires of Grade A producers. They therefore sell Grade B, at a lower price, to be condensed or made into ice cream. This is not the Grade B fluid milk of many cities, but "substandard" milk which cannot be sold fresh for drinking. The Pet Milk Company built its condensery in Greeneville in the late twenties. For the first ten years of operation, it paid "New York prices" to attract farmers, and bought out smaller competing plants. Today, except for one condensery which overlaps a corner of Greene County, Pet is the sole buyer of Grade B milk.

While the milk market was narrowing down, dairy production increased as farmers began to learn the advantage of using their eroded hilltops and slopes for pasturing instead of growing row crops. This trend is encouraged by the state of Tennessee and the Agricultural Extension Service. Being production-minded, both state and federal representatives in the area think more of disease prevention, increased output, and herd improvement than of prices and available markets.

The farmer milks at night and puts the can in the springhouse to cool. In the morning, he milks again and takes both cans to the side of the road. The local route

ARMAND PETER RUDERMAN, assistant professor of agricultural economics at South Dakota State College, will become assistant professor of business administration at Montana State University this fall. He has worked as a farm hand and is an organizer for the Farmers' Union.

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hauler picks them up and takes them to town. Later in the day, the cans are returned. This procedure is the basis for a host of grievances. Farmers complain that poorly insulated trucks let the milk sour before it reaches the plant, and that careless handling gets dirt into the milk. They have to accept the company's rejections for sourage and dirty milk. They cannot check the company's scales or the bi-weekly butterfat tests. The milk check comes in twice a month, full of code symbols and deductions. The farmer wonders why. He doesn't see why he must take his check on faith or buy his pails and filters from company stock. He knows that a healthy herd of Jersey cows should give milk with 4 per cent butterfat. If the company tests his milk at 2 per cent, he feels he has been cheated out of half his milk check.

In addition, the farmer has no sense of security in his dealings with a big company. He does not know how much he will get until his check arrives. He fears he may be dropped from the list if demand falls off or not taken on again if he sells his cows in the fall and wants to start again in the spring when the new cows come fresh.

A FEW Greene County farmers felt the threat of their situation acutely and began to organize their neighbors with a vague general idea of protecting their rights. They interested Myles Horton of the Highlander Folk School, director of organization for the Tennessee Farmers' Union. With Horton's assistance, the farmers tackled their problem through the unusual mechanism of a bargaining cooperative. They formed the East Tennessee Dairy Cooperative Association in 1945.

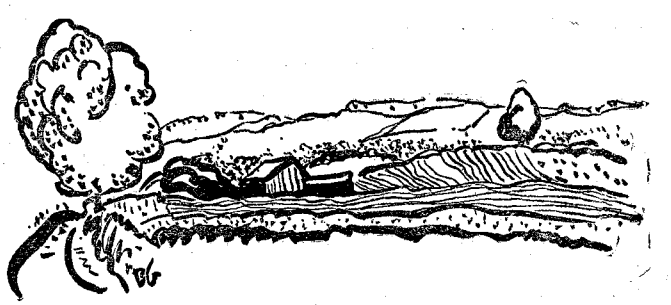
The first step was a matter of interesting close friends and neighbors. Each of the charter members dug into his jeans for four years' dues in advance. For two years, the cooperative remained a paper organization. By the spring of 1947, it had grown to 300 members, and Tom Ludwig of the Highlander Folk School was sent down as Farmers' Union field representative. Ludwig negotiated a contract with the Pet Milk Company which allowed a farmers' representative to enter the condensery and check the treatment of member's milk. This representative tested milk—splitting samples with the company technicians—reported spillage and careless handling, investigated herds, and acted as farmer-company intermediary in adjusting grievances. Now that there was a service to sell, members took to the back roads and signed up an additional 200 farmers in the summer of 1947. After the usual winter lull in dairying, the cooperative is in the midst of its second active season—furnishing services now but hoping finally to realize its goal of price-bargaining for its members.

The cooperative officers consider education as important as service and have integrated their education program with the Farmers' Union goals of better farming, better marketing, enlightened cooperation, awareness of national and international issues. The principal vehicle for their education program is the monthly *Tennessee Union Farmer,* which Tom Ludwig takes a perilous jeep ride to Nashville every month to put out. Member solidarity is built up by radio programs, a news letter, and talks to veterans' night classes in vocational agriculture. The original inducement for a man to join is the promise of a bigger milk check. Afterward, the cooperative association helps the farmer to understand his place in the market economy and the role of cooperation in rural life. Slowly, the farmer learns to identify issues. Slowly, old prejudices disappear.

A peak in farmer-labor cooperation was reached at a rally in Monteagle, Tennessee, when organized workers in the Pet condensery pledged themselves to support the farmers' interests, and the farmers in turn promised to feed the workers if they were ever to go on strike. These were farmers who had shuddered at the mention of the C. I. O. two years before. The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle is the high point of the farmers' educational program. Here the potential farm leaders of the Southern states, white and Negro, come together for short terms of intensive classwork in organization methods, cooperative management, and plain economics.

Stimulated by the school, interest in farmer organization is heightening. The Greeneville cooperative is expanding into the livestock market. A Southern-states cooperative fertilizer factory is being organized. Tennessee farmers have opened a cooperative feed mill in Huntingdon and a farmer-consumer berry market near Chattanooga.

These things are just a beginning. There will be many more years of hard work before farmer organization and active cooperation become accepted principles, before old enmities die out completely. From Chattanooga south to the Gulf, with the exception of the area where Aubrey William's cherished Alabama Farmers' Union is active, there is a vast field practically unacquainted with the benefits of organization. Tennessee, however, is a wedge. The example of East Tennessee farmers meeting their problems successfully through cooperation, learning to make common cause with labor to the profit of both, and contributing to the prosperity of the entire regional economy, augurs well for the future of the South.



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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A FRIEND of mine, whose father was acquainted a generation ago with several of the royal rulers of Europe, once *bon-mot*-ed, as Billy Rose would say, that he was thinking of writing a book entitled "Kings Who Have Known Me." I was reminded of his project when I had finished reading "Tolstoy As I Knew Him" by Tatyana A. Kuzminskaya (Macmillan, $5) which might better have been called "Tolstoy As He Knew Me." But though Kuzminskaya's book provides only a bird's eye view of Leo Nikolayevich, this view is interesting as far as it goes, and the book has other charms. Its subtitle is My Life at Home and at Yasnaya Polyana—the estate of the Tolstoys—and its principal interest lies in its portrayal of family life in the upper reaches of Russian society in the 1860's, a portrayal that is both artless and revealing.

The narrator, Tatyana Bers, who became Kuzminskaya, is highly egocentric; she occupies the middle foreground, surrounded by her family—including the house servants—her relatives, and her friends. In this tableau, Tolstoy has a rather important place, to be sure, but only as an old friend of Tatyana's mother and later as Tatyana's fond brother-in-law. "Lyovochka" is working on a wonderful book. He reads parts of it aloud sometimes—and the most exciting thing about it is that Tatyana and her doll Mimi, her relatives and friends, and even the servants appear in it. At times, one might think indeed that "War and Peace" is hardly more than a faintly disguised account of the life of the Berses; and the fact that Tatyana was the model for Natasha Rostova appears in these pages as but an added fillip to the distinction she really cherished, that of being "Tatyanchik the Imp," the pretty, vivacious, and spoiled darling of the Bers household.

Tatyana's father, Andréy Yevstáfyevich Bers, was a court physician and with his family occupied apartments in the Kremlin. Their time was divided between Moscow and their country estate, which was not far from Yasnaya Polyana. And wherever they were, the house "was always full of relatives, acquaintances, friends, and young people. Some of them stayed for months."

Tolstoy was only less devoted to his young sister-in-law than to his wife Sonya, and the Imp spent much time at Yasnaya Polyana. She was Tolstoy's constant companion in the riding and hunting they both loved—Sonya, burdened with household cares and her constant pregnancies, could, in any case, have had little share in such pursuits—and Tatyana says more than once that Tolstoy was her most trusted confidant. Yet he remains a flat lay figure in her composition. We get statements about him which are amusing or interesting, but he never emerges in the round. His brother Sergei comes through much better—for the simple reason that Sergei directly engaged Tatyana's emotions.

When Sergei met Tatyana—he was in his thirties and she was seventeen—he had been living for fifteen years with a gypsy woman who had borne him three children. Tolstoy and the Berses—except for Tatyana—knew of this liaison, but she and Sergei became engaged with Tolstoy's approval. Her parents consented to the match, though her father, to be sure, had to be won over. Tatyana soon learned about Sergei's "morganatic" family in the lower world, but like the others considered it no bar to marriage. She finally ended the engagement for other reasons: It became clear that Sergei could not withstand the pleading of his gypsy wife (and the threats of her mother) or bring himself to desert his children—who now numbered four! And Tatyana came to realize that her marriage to Sergei would forever be shadowed, as her father had divined, by the suffering it had inflicted.

The episode is interesting in its own right. It is interesting also because it illustrates so vividly one of the striking aspects of the world Tatyana lived in. This world was limited by strict codes and confines. Yet inside its restraining and retaining walls, the emotions were free to burgeon and to become mature in a warm atmosphere of family feeling, within and among families, which was as nourishing and protective as the air in a hothouse. Likewise, as we all know, belief and speculation flourished, and sent out shoots of radical experimental activity—which the czar's police were quick, however, to cut off when they advanced too far. One of the fascinating minor stories in this book is the account of the raid on Yasnaya Polyana as the result of an anonymous accusation against Tolstoy. Tolstoy was outraged—at the act itself and at the way the gendarmes had burst in on "my aunt and Mashenka," had turned out the cupboards and chests, and demanded wine and food.

"I came to Moscow," he said to his father-in-law, "to deliver in person a letter to the czar." "The czar," replied Dr. Bers indignantly, "will surely take notice of such an infamous affair."

The letter was duly delivered. "Later," writes Kuzminskaya, "we were told that the czar, through his adjutant, had sent an apology to Leo Nikolayevich and had expressed his regret over this unfortunate incident." Later, too, Tatyana went over the whole exciting business in a cosy chat with Dunyasha, one of the servants at Yasnaya.

IN THIS INCIDENT, as in others, Dr. Bers played the part of a sensible—and sensitive—man of the world. And though I am sure Kuzminskaya did not plan it that way, he and not Tolstoy is the second principal in her book. "My memories of [my father]," she writes, "are fragmentary." But he is the best realized individual in these pages, and one comes away with the feeling that Andréy Yevstáfyevich was a man very much worth knowing—intelligent, strong, humorous, rich in understanding, and very kind. "Father knew how to approach people simply . . . he became friendly with many people, so that Mother often teased him, saying, 'Papa has brought in a new friend from the street again.'" All sorts of people were forever coming to him for help and "No one was refused." His letters are

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more interesting than the minor family espistles of Tolstoy's which are printed here for the first time, and I can't resist quoting one addressed to Leo and Sonya on the subject of their behavior with their first-born.

Unfortunately, my dear friends, I must inform you that you are living without sense. Your dilemma to engage or not to engage a wet nurse [Tolstoy didn't approve of this course] is put on a par with Hamlet's "To be or not to be. . . ."

You think you are a thoroughly unhappy mother because you found yourself forced to engaged a wet nurse; the husband comforts his wife by promising not to enter the nursery because its atmosphere disgusts him, and so forth. . . . I see that you have both gone out of your minds and that I shall have to pay you a visit in order to restore you to sanity. . . .

In a postscript, he tells Tatyana, who is with them, to stay at her sister's heels and "give her constant scoldings . . ; as for Lyovochka, just wallop him with the first thing that comes to your hand so he may become wiser."

But if Tolstoy the husband and father annoyed Dr. Bers, Tolstoy the writer had his unstinted admiration and support. He was particularly interested in his son-in-law's projected work about Napoleon's invasion of Russia and collected material, from people and from books, that might be useful.

"You have chosen a great subject—may God give you success. . . . I have here an enormous biography of Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov. . . . I will send it to you without fail. It contains a great many true facts about 1812, probably gathered from Vorontsov himself. . . ."

I SUPPOSE it has been noted—in books I know not of—that there are points of great similarity between the way of life in those two anachronistic worlds of the nineteenth century, the Russian aristocracy and the plantation aristocracy of the American South. It could hardly be otherwise, since both worlds, however permanent they may have seemed to their inhabitants, were iridescent bubbles borne up on a dark stream of human servitude and bound to be engulfed. In both, there was intense family solidarity, which had its defensive uses as well as its delightful ones. In both, there was simplicity in the material sense—as Kuzminskaya says, "There was no kind of luxury"—though it was imposed by the surrounding backwardness, not chosen by the privileged group. There were comparable elements in the growing grounds of a Tolstoy and a Jefferson—and reading Tatyana's story I couldn't for the life of me help being reminded of the Little Colonel.

"PLAIN WORDS," by Sir Ernest Gowers, which I discussed three weeks ago, may, I find, be obtained for seventy cents at the British Library of Information, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

Success Story

POLITICS IN THE EMPIRE STATE. By Warren Moscow. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THOMAS E. DEWEY would have been just as happy if Warren Moscow had not chosen this year to publish his political primer on New York politics. Although the references to Dewey are only incidental to the volume's main purpose—to tell the story of how government functions and parties operate in the nation's first state—the passing allusions reduce the Republican nominee to the stature of a cunning and petty office seeker, who was able to use Albany as Presidential campaign headquarters because, under the New York system, being Governor is only a a part-time job. Moscow calls it a "soft snap," compared to being Mayor of New York City.

Having worked on many of the same assignments with Moscow for nearly a half-dozen years in the big city's rough-and-tumble political arena, I know him as one of the most competent political reporters around New York. His reputation, however, derives not only from his frequent news beats but also from his independence and honesty in interpreting political news, whether Henry Wallace or Dewey is the subject. Naturally, this has not endeared him to all the parties involved.

In this volume, Moscow has maintained and enhanced his reputation for careful and truthful reporting. He has examined the political forces at work in the Empire State, from the bankers' lobby at Albany to the building-trades union leaders. He presents the facts, but draws few conclusions. His failure to hit harder at the admittedly corrupt influences at work in the legislature is, perhaps, the book's one deficiency. But Moscow's view is that they have been there a long time and he expects them to remain for a long time, with reformers coming along every so often to keep the "boys in the backroom" from going haywire.

There are many things about which he feels deeply, but the reader has to catch them on the fly. He touches on Dewey's conduct at press conferences and his determination that reporters shall get only the information he chooses to give them. Moscow tells the story, too briefly, of the time Dewey tried to lay down the rule that a reporter could not report that he had asked a question, if Dewey decided that he did not want to answer it. He also deals, in passing, with Dewey's desire to thwart critical analysis of the state's problems and to shut down news sources. This crack New York *Times* writer considers the Dewey system, on the whole, "a long step backwards" in satisfactory press relations.

The text is interspersed with anecdotes about well-known political personalities, but the Dewey references are the most timely and will attract the widest interest. Moscow discloses how Kenneth Simpson, then Manhattan G. O. P. leader, managed to get Dewey to run for district attorney. The story, never denied, was that Dewey decided to make the race after downing his sixteenth highball. Even though it shows certain human qualities, which the Republican nominee has concealed well, the story will probably be denied now for campaign purposes.

Later, Moscow reveals how Dewey, then courting Herbert Hoover, turned on his friend Simpson. "Dewey decided it would serve his own political career to break with the man who was his sponsor and publicly accepted spokesman," Moscow writes. As the story goes, Dewey took the occasion of a correspondents' dinner to say that, so far as he was concerned, Simpson could develop "a permanent case of laryngitis."

This was, of course, not the last time that Dewey turned on his benefactors. Representative Charles Halleck of Indiana, who switched his state delegation to Dewey in the belief that he had been promised the Vice-Presidential nomina-

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tion, probably could add a story of his own to the saga of political double crosses. ROBERT G. SPIVACK

Ivy Compton-Burnett

BULLIVANT AND THE LAMBS. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IN A season in which, imitating themselves, James Cain and Erskine Caldwell have demonstrated once again how profound is the current exhaustion of the school of realism-cum-naturalism, "Bullivant and the Lambs" is evidence, if any were needed, that the best fiction of our time falls into other patterns. Nor does Ivy Compton-Burnett have any resemblance to novelists of what one might call the "school of sensibility," to those whose chief concern is with feeling, the private, the inexpressible. She is so little like them, indeed, that it is curious to find on the jacket of this, the latest of her many novels, a garland of praise from Elizabeth Bowen, Rosamond Lehmann, and Gerald Bullett. She writes like no one else today.

An austere and highly intellectualized sensibility causes her to shun a fidelity to the possible and the probable which might obscure the substance of her fiction. So, the movements of her plots are arbitrary and often preposterous. Her descriptive writing is acute but brief. All the rest is talk. For talk, although it is often a very painful matter, is for her characters the one sure index to Truth. They have no problems of communication, addressing one another always with complete accuracy and directness, knowing what they mean and knowing that they will be understood. The opening conversation of this novel establishes the pattern of speech:

"Is that fire smoking?" said Horace Lamb.

"Yes, it appears to be, my dear boy."

"I am not asking what it appears to be doing. I asked if it was smoking."

"Appearances are not held to be a clue to the truth," said his cousin. "But we have no other."

The result of such discourse is a dry light shed on everything. Her characters are, of necessity, permanently disenchanted. "Thank you very much for your letter," Mortimer Lamb writes his cousin. "It has broken my heart, but that is the natural result of the use of words. When human speech developed it was a foregone thing. It allowed people to communicate their thoughts, and what else could come of that?"

So considered, what happens in "Bullivant and the Lambs" is no more preposterous than what happens in a comedy of Molière, and Miss Compton-Burnett is justified in the gambits she imposes on her characters. Although the novel is almost entirely conversational, it is not dramatic. Almost all the important action occurs offstage, and it is the talk about what happens that matters. Briefly, there is an unhappy English county family, the Lambs, whose unhappiness springs from the stinginess of the father, Horace. Moved by illness, his discovery that his wife intends to elope with his cousin and take their five children with her, and two attempts on his life, one by his sons and one by his footman, he grows kind with a celerity which surpasses that of Mr. Dombey. Bullivant is the Lambs' butler, at once a chorus and the chief mouthpiece of the rigidly defined social hierarchy within which all the characters move in a kind of formal dance of spiritual destruction. The chief causes of conversation are the simple facts of an intended elopement and two attempts at murder, unpleasant threats to the social and family pattern.

Like other high comedy, this book is about Good and Evil, about such matters as Family, Money, Instinct, and Civilization. The Good innate in these characters is their lack of self-deception. The Evil—Horace's stinginess, Bullivant's pride of place, Cousin Mortimer's accidia—makes their possessors and those about them wretched and provokes more evil. It is Money which keeps the elaborate and unhappy hierarchy of Family in working order. It is the authority of the father as head of the Family and controller of the Money that makes the Lamb brood first acutely wretched, and later only precariously happy. At the center of the book are the problems of Instinct and Civilization:

"You are in a strange mood, Charlotte," said Horace.

"I am allowing myself to be in a natural one. My children must know me as I am before I leave them."

"Civilized life consists in suppressing our instincts."

"Or does all life consist in fulfilling them?"

There is no need for Miss Compton-Burnett to formulate conclusions about these matters. The horror that lies beneath the surfaces controlled by Money, Family, and Civilization is all the more impressive for being the subject of straight-forward, unimpassioned, witty conversation.

One objection which is likely to be made to this almost exclusive use of talk, this reduction of experience to the limits of the epigram, is that one never gets beneath the surface of the characters. In this kind of writing, one doesn't need to. The limitation is self-imposed. These glittering surfaces are sufficient to indicate the inner horror. The occasions when these characters do reveal the dark flux beneath the brittle and well-bred exterior are the more impressive because they are few. In this sense, "Bullivant and the Lambs" is clearly in the tradition of the best high comedy which, for all its artificiality, is conscious always of the worm within.

ERNEST JONES

Matisse, Seen by Marx

MATISSE, A SOCIAL CRITIQUE. By Alexander G. Romm. Translated by Jack Chen. Lear-Crown. $3.75.

THIS little book is advertised as "a Marxist interpretation of Matisse's tireless search for plastic expression, his hedonism, his color, and his monumentality." First published in Moscow ten years ago, it betrays a fundamental conflict between ideology and sensibility that the intervening years have only served to aggravate.

On every page, it is perfectly clear that Romm has a highly developed sense of the art in painting, the language of expression in line, light and dark, shape, color, and space. In addition, he knows Matisse's work well. Naturally enough, he uses to advantage the superb examples of Matisse's painting in the Museum of Modern Art, Moscow. Many of them appear among the illustrations, which, though of poor quality, provide an adequate indication of Matisse's development from 1901 to 1936. (The American publishers should have known, however, that the "Blue Window," re-

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produced in color as the frontispiece, is no longer in Essen, and that it was bought during the war by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Also, the early seated nude, "Carmelina," is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

Romm begins and ends on the theme of decadent hedonism, Matisse's escape from the unpleasant realities of an allegedly deteriorating bourgeois-capitalist society. Between performances of this Marxist ritual, Romm yields to Matisse's seductiveness. There are many rhapsodic descriptions: "The body, with its warm lilac shadows, is painted in hot golden tones. The background is a magnificent harmony of cold red and delicate rose, with warm greens merging into olive. . . . The whole picture shines."

In his final paragraph, which aptly summarizes the book, Romm returns to the attack, but with a degree of magnanimity: "We cannot accept the hedonistic outlook of Matisse, his repudiation of ideas, his unwillingness to strive for deep pictorial realization and give an adequate reflection of reality. But the positive elements of his painting—powerful, intensive color, his daring and dynamic treatment of form, mastery of the laws of decorative rhythm—can and must find a corresponding expression in Soviet art which stands before the problems of monumental painting and therefore cannot ignore the heritage of Matisse."

I do not know whether the party line would now embrace such a heritage, but if I were a guardian of purity in the Soviet arts, I would challenge Romm on Matisse's "positive elements." How can they exist, from Romm's point of view, apart from "ideas," that is, incidents or symbols of social significance? To what order acceptable to the Soviet attitude could they possibly belong? Are they not clearly subversive?

Like Dr. Albert Barnes, Moscow declined to send its Matisses to the great Philadelphia exhibition last spring. It would have been nice if Alexander Romm could have brought them over. Early last May, he would have witnessed a dazzling spectacle. Outdoors, the terraces of the Philadelphia Museum blanketed with azaleas—scarlet, crimson, peach, cerise, violet, apricot, and blood-red. Inside, the Matisses. There was a provocative interaction between these two springtimes. When you went inside, the Matisses seemed as natural as breathing; and when you went outdoors again, for a moment the azaleas looked exactly like Matisses. That sort of moment, however fleeting, is what John Dewey was courageous enough to discuss in "Art as Experience"—the power of art to illuminate our experience of nature. Oscar Wilde put it facetiously, but accurately: nature imitates art. In both instances, of course, "nature" includes a wider range of experience than azaleas. It could easily include, for example, an oppressed or a victorious proletariat. But it would always remain as merely raw material for the artist; and no ideology could ever channel it to creative fruition.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Early American Red

JOHN HANCOCK, PATRIOT IN PURPLE. By Herbert S. Allan. The Macmillan Company. $6.

"AT THE time of this prosperity," wrote John Adams of a fateful day in Boston in 1766, "I was one day walking in the Mall and accidentally met Samuel Adams. In taking a few turns together, we came in full view of Mr. Hancock's house. Mr. Adams, pointing to the stone building, said, 'This town has done a wise thing today.' 'What?' 'They have made that young man's fortune their own.' "

It was on May 6, 1766, that John Hancock, aged twenty-nine years and inheritor of what would be the equivalent of a million dollars today, entered the ranks of the radical party. He was "steamrollered," as the author of this lively biography puts it, into office as one of Boston's four representatives in the General Court, the popular assembly run by Sam Adams and his leftist cronies.

Mr. Allan, now a free-lance writer, was on the staff of the New York *Post* until 1943, when he resigned to tackle this first really definitive biography of one of the most fascinating of our Revolutionary forefathers. He has retrieved Hancock's reputation, long denigrated by a host of Tory-minded professional historians; and in quick, marching prose he has made his man, and the critical times in which Hancock so abundantly participated, come magnificently alive.

Of course, these same historians, who pride themselves on their "objectivity" in picturing Sam Adams as a bankrupt rabble-rouser with Hancock his innocent dupe, will give Mr. Allan the erudite ribbing they always bestow upon non-members of their guild, upon writers, that is, who can make history interesting despite not having a Ph.D. and a place on the history faculty. Still, they will be set back a bit when they come to the chapter notes and bibliography of this most readable book.

The author has done a yeoman's job of research and has been careful to document his judgments and interpretations. He has, of course, chosen a most difficult subject in what he himself calls the "vain, arrogant, egotistic, hyper-sensitive, petulant, exhibitionistic, capricious, vacillating, intemperate" Hancock, who was also "somewhat of a demagogue and much of a faker." But John Hancock came to the radical cause at a time when it was dangerous to be associated with such men as the "brace of Adamses," the fiery Otis, and the eloquent Dr. Warren, and he stuck to his love of independence and hatred for tyranny to the end. Of course, he was denounced as a traitor to his class and jeered at as the "milch cow" for the patriot party by the rich merchants fawning upon the Massachusetts-born Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson. Knowing very well what was being said about him, the gentleman from Beacon Hill would go jauntily off with Sam Adams, "among the most selfless and self-effacing of the founding fathers," as Allan writes, to talk to a meeting of sailors, rope-makers, and longshoremen, among them many of his own employees, in red-hot revolutionary language. Best of all, he backed up his words with cold cash and courageous action, so that he shared with the Adamses the honor of being regarded in British eyes as one of the likeliest prospects for a hanging at Tyburn.

At first glance, John Hancock would seem to be the answer to a D. A. R.'s dream of the Perfect Founding Father. Dressed like a lily of the field, daintily sipping his smuggled Madeira in the spacious home left him by his go-getting Uncle Thomas, founder of the House of Hancock, John fits admirably into a Daughter's conception of a sociable revolution, organized in a refined, non-violent manner by Men of Distinction.

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That from 1766 to the time of his signing the Declaration of Independence, on August 2, 1776, in that beautiful script that has made his signature immortal among insurance salesmen, Hancock and at the center of an un-English, rough, tough and truly seditious underground movement, would strike one of our One Hundred Per Centers as sacrilegious. Yet, as this biography shows, Hancock was shadowed by secret agents, offered the bribe of a Council seat if he would turn his coat, and finally ordered to be hanged by King George, who was openly perplexed by Hancock's leftism. One of the objects of General Gage's disastrous sally to Lexington and Concord was to arrest Sam Adams and Hancock, and bring them back to be hanged. Mr. Allan records that the first time the British played "Yankee Doodle" in public—this was in 1775, a month before Lexington—"these special words were set to the tune for the occasion and were sung by the military escort:

> "Yankee Doodle came to town,
> For to buy a flintlock:
> We will tar and feather him,
> And so we will John Hancock."

Many of our revolutionary leaders were more profound than the frequently frivolous Hancock. Many of them, like Sam Adams but unlike his wealthy protègé, were fanatical in their devotion to the cause. But I think Mr. Allan sums up our real debt to John Hancock when he writes: "If not absolutely indispensable to the evolution of America, he could have been dispensed with only at grave danger to the outcome of the grand process."

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Two Treatises on the State

FREEDOM AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE. By Joseph Rosenfarb. Harper and Brothers. $4.

THE PATTERN OF IMPERIALISM. By E. M. Winslow. Columbia Press. $3.75

THESE two books can be considered treatises upon the state viewed from different angles. Mr. Rosenfarb is concerned exclusively with the internal dynamics of politics; Dr. Winslow focuses upon imperialism, the activity of the state turned outward.

The burden of Mr. Rosenfarb's discussion is that the best possible form of state for our age has a planned economy within a capitalistic framework. That central planning is possible given the competitive norms of capitalism he considers proved by the operation of the United States economy during the late war. This is a rather dubious proposition, for he does not make clear the conditions which would provide the motivation for such planning in peace time. As is well known, the war-time economy was accepted as a short-term necessity by the interests behind the state; and unless one wants to accept war-time psychological conditions as permanent, it is difficult to see how such a state would function under capitalist assumptions. Mr. Rosenfarb does not examine the possibilities of a pluralistic economy as an alternative.

The author's neglect of the way power and function are distributed leads him into an almost naive acceptance of what he calls the administrative state. Given such a pattern, all substantive power is channeled through the administrators, with the traditional branches of government acting as formal power agents. Nowhere does Mr. Rosenfarb grapple with the central problem posed by the crucial position of the administrators. He takes for granted that they will be representative of the general interest, ignoring both the psychological and sociological consequences of large-scale bureaucratization. It is curious that though he accepts Michels's "iron law of oligarchy" he fails to apply it to the key group in his projected state.

In order to enhance the primary importance of the state, Mr. Rosenfarb tries to show that there has always been such an institution; that it is co-existent with society. He reaches this conclusion by blurring over the distinction between the family and the state, an intellectual sleight of hand which is more confusing than enlightening. Anthropologists, particularly Malinowski, have demonstrated that the state is a rather late arrival on the institutional scene, arising only after a certain technological level has been reached. Also, the functional differentiation between the state and the family refutes Mr. Rosenfarb's contention that the family is merely the early form of the state.

Dr. Winslow's study is relevant to this aspect of Mr. Rosenfarb's work, for he is concerned with the origins of imperialism as well as its contemporary efflorescence. Without the state, imperialism in any meaningful sense is impossible. That imperialism can be seen as a consequence of an almost basic power instinct, as Dr. Winslow suggests, is hardly possible. He attempts to vindicate capitalism of the charge hurled at it that it is responsible for producing imperialism. In the course of his analysis, Dr. Winslow examines the theories of imperialism since Marx, considering Hobson, Hilferding, and Lenin. This is the most valuable part of his book, for it brings together from disparate sources a long-needed systematic presentation of these theories. Dr. Winslow outlines the two major analyses of imperialism, distinguishing between the Leninist concept of imperialism as the inevitable outcome of the search for markets and the Hilferding thesis of imperialism as a capitalist policy. He also mentions Renner's broadening of the Hilferding thesis to include the possibility of Socialist imperialism, which is significant today in the light of Soviet expansionism.

Dr. Winslow points up the fallacy of regarding imperialism as inevitably determined by a stage of capitalism, but he hardly achieves his purpose of absolving capitalism from any influence on the growth of imperialism. The fact that imperialism has become intensified under monopoly capitalism is sufficient connection, though the precise linkage remains to be uncovered, barring the Leninist interpretation. Dr. Winslow's effort to make militarism coeval with imperialism is not very firmly based, since commercial, non-military societies, such as Athens and England, have given as much impetus to imperialism as landlocked military powers. Dr. Winslow's observations reflect his adherence to the model of classical economics. He fails to recognize that economic and political activity are functionally interrelated when he considers militarism a self-contained force, rather than a variable of a more enveloping social order. Government control over the monetary system as his solution for the cancer of imperialism is another example of Dr. Winslow's tendency toward mechanistic thinking. That the mere

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manipulation of the monetary system is sufficient to stop imperialism in a total system where all else is geared toward it is a kind of wishfulness which has little effect upon social reality.

Dr. Winslow concludes on the note that politics is intrinsically evil and economic activity naturally peaceful. Such radical moral compartmentalization adds little to the understanding of social processes.

Mr. Rosenfarb's and Dr. Winslow's interpretations, when compared, stand clearly at polar opposites. Mr. Rosenfarb is all too prone to overlook the complexities of power, whereas Dr. Winslow retreats from it in dismay. These extreme positions suggest that political science, if it is to be an instrument of social cure, must come to grips with the problem of power, not as a form of original sin or as a matter purely of techniques, but rather as it is determined by the over-all social structure.

J. F. WOLPERT

Inaccurate, But Sturdy

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PROSPER MERIMÉE. By Sylvia Lyon. The Dial Press. $3.75.

THIS BOOK is a lesson to the supercilious scholar. If it were offered as a doctor's dissertation, it would be rejected at once, *magna cum contumelia.* Practically every quotation in French is wrong; the accents, in particular, are distributed with a fine indifference to custom, being placed wherever they will look most exotic. The historical information is stranger still. The Duke of Angoulême, son of Charles X, is turned into "his surviving nephew." Achille Bazaine, who surrendered at Metz, "was to demolish the Second Empire at Sedan." Josephine, who caught her death flirting with Alexander of Russia, is praised for remaining "loyal to Napoleon in his downfall." Emile Ollivier, who accepted his responsibility in 1870 "with a light heart," is mixed up with the Kronprinz who hailed war, *"frisch und munter."* The Allies "landed" at Pekin: a remarkable feat in pre-aviation days. And the list could be indefinitely extended. The political and literary judgments are naturally as insecure as the language and the information. This is a study of the *times* of Mérimée: but any resemblance with history is purely coincidental. The plain lesson is that writing publicity for Chanel and staying with cosmopolitan aristocratic acquaintances are no substitute for good hard research work. Smartness goes a long way; but it also stops a long way short of scholarship.

Yet it would be foolish to throw away the book as worthless. On that boundless sea of inaccuracy, there floats a trim little craft which is sturdy and attractive. Sylvia Lyon, like her titled friends, may have but a distant acquaintance with French affairs; but she knows her Mérimée, and she can convey her genuine, keen-sighted, and unobtrusive sympathy. She and her hero (and Marcel Proust) moved, perhaps, with too obvious a pleasure in Society; at any rate, it creates a bond between them. Sylvia Lyon relishes the dry, subdued wit of Mérimée. She enjoys his hoaxes and mystifications, from *La Guzla* and *Clara Gazul* to *Lokis.* The result is a lifelike portrait, ironical with the most discreet tinge of tenderness. On a very blurred background, the picture is sharp. Mérimée would have enjoyed it —were it only as a practical joke on the American reading public. I could well imagine Sylvia Lyon as one of his "Unknown," the ladies with whom he kept up a lively, acidulous, and platonic correspondence. A faultless dissertation, without taste or sympathy, might fail to achieve such a result.

And Mérimée is well worth knowing. Not because he wrote "Carmen," which bears the same relation to Bizet's opera as Goethe's "Faust" to Gounod's. Not because he provided, in "Colomba," admirable reading matter for second-year students of French. He is a minor, knows it, likes it, and is not dwarfted by the giants that are his contemporaries: Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal. He is a perfectly preserved survivor of the eighteenth century, who lived through the Romantic and the Realistic periods, knew and practiced all their tricks, shrugged his shoulders, and smiled. On the surface, his one great desire was not to be a dupe. This in itself is a negative virtue, ungenerous, even craven. But it might be considered as an anticipation of André Gide's attitude. His refusal to commit himself, his desire to remain *disponible,* proved no dulness of perception, but a keenness of intelligence which pierced through the delusions of cliques, sects, and parties. He wanted, he said, at the end of his life, to free himself from prejudices, to be a citizen of the world before being a Frenchman. But in the days of deepest humiliation and disaster, he remembered that he was French. This is no contradiction, but a tribute to his sense of honor.

Mérimée was the perfect friend—to the extent of being fined and imprisoned in the defense of a friend, Libri. Among his intimates was Stendhal. Naturally, good George Sand, "Rousseau's granddaughter," could not understand him, and recoiled in horror. He was devoted to an aristocratic Spanish family, and was a kind of foster uncle to two little girls, Paca, who became Duchess of Alba, and Eugenia, who became empress of the French. Through a miracle of fate, the learned archeologist, ironist, free-thinker, became an intimate member of the imperial circle, "a court jester," as he liked to call himself. The affectionate relations between Mérimée and the empress—a "model" empress, the ruler of fashion—survived to the end, a credit to them both. It may be added that Mérimée, who never was a Bonapartist, but a Eugenist, came to like and admire the enigmatic emperor, as did every one who approached him, including Duruy and Pasteur. With its glaring faults, this is a good little book on a good subject (although Mérimée would have preferred to call himself a *mauvais sujet*).

ALBERT GUÉRARD, SR.

CONTRIBUTORS

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B. H. Haggin is on vacation. His column will be resumed in the issue of September 11.

An article on D. W. Griffith by James Agee, previously announced, has had to be postponed. It will appear in an early issue.

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Letters to the Editors

"Why Scrap a Well-tried Recipe?"

Dear Sirs: Mr. del Vayo's forceful analysis (in *The Nation*, July 17) of the currents and stresses bearing on Labor's chance of returning to power in 1950 reads tantalizingly reasonable and balanced. We of the Labor Party would gladly have the underlying facts conform to so clean a pattern. But do they?

Before I join issue with your contributor, let me correct a wrong premise. Unless world events compel the premature dissolution of this Parliament, the battle over steel in the Commons will have been fought—and won—before May, 1950. Thus, steel hardly will be the main plank in Labor's election program. What is sure to be a fundamental issue in the coming struggle is the short-term relative success or failure of *all* socialized industries—coal in particular.

Mr. del Vayo rightly postulates that Labor must justify the socialization of steel on political grounds, whether Mr. Paul Hoffman likes it or not. In the Labor Party, at least, there can be no dissenting voice. Where the "out-and-outers" and the "consolidators" (whose high priest, incidentally, is Morrison, not Bevin) part company is over "ways and means." Unlike coal or transport, steel is not an integrated industry, but a whole host of industries in which the finished product of one sector becomes the raw material of one or more other sectors. Some of us insist that an industry singularly free from serious labor unrest for many decades, and able, in the last analysis, to "deliver the goods" in these days of shortages and export pressure, should be socialized by easy stages, in order not to lower its efficiency. Let us have an "enabling" act, by all means. Let us then proceed to take over those sectors that are technically out-of-date, inefficient through lack of good management, or the playthings of political lobbying. In their order of *prima facie* priority, I would mention: armaments; iron ore (including all overseas deposits in Spain, and North and West Africa now controlled by British ironmasters); scrap, a notoriously rotten and inefficient trade; and the iron foundries, with their small and largely inefficient units forming a close monopoly. Later, tin plate, black plates, and heavy plates could be brought under public ownership as well.

Pressure thus exercised by a publicly controlled National Steel Corporation from the "raw"-material end would make the fabricating sectors amenable to control by directive, in preference to direct public exploitation. So much for steel.

Nor is it safe to assume that "marshaling the entire force of militant, informed, and determined workers" behind Labor's 1950 election struggle will necessarily guarantee success at the polls. These elements were all behind us in 1945 and their political constancy is not in doubt. But, like every government since the Reform Act, Labor last time was elected thanks to the floating vote.

This vote of some two or three millions out of an electorate of possibly 40,000,000, and an effective vote of nearly 33,000,000, is made up, apart from the "non-politicals" and the bandwagoners, of a larger proportion of the younger professionals, scientists, technicians, and blackcoats. It will be strengthened, next time, by a sprinkling of frantic working-class housewives and young mothers. Between the upper millstone of rising prices and the nether millstone of grinding purchase and income taxes —all bearing on frozen incomes—these elements have been badly mauled, psychologically and socially. No amount of free education and social legislation will reconcile them to their loss of former graciousness of life and social standing in a society that, at these levels, is still often overwhelmingly Victorian in its habits and its outlook.

So a shift of some 2,000,000 votes would suffice, through the loss of most "fringe" constituencies in the suburbs and the dormitory towns, to send Labor into the political wilderness for five, ten, or fifteen years, or at least to make the outcome of the election anybody's guess and create, possibly, a stalemate in government.

I would suggest to your readers that Morrison, the tried manager of Labor's election successes in the past—including that "key state" of British politics, the London County Council—reads the odds in the right perspective.

The only safe bet for British Labor in 1950 is a balanced election program, placating the "middle" vote by sound tax concessions and all-around upgrading of fixed salaries; above all, it must be free from all talk of an egalitarian society at which the individualists are sure to take fright. If, meanwhile, Bevin's disastrous foreign policy could be reversed and the dread of a world cataclysm removed from the minds of our people, Labor's victory in 1950 would become a safe bet.

After all, Fabian gradualism put Labor in power three years ago, and not the hotheads in the trade unions. Why scrap a well-tried recipe?

ERNEST S. NAPIER

London, July 31

[*Mr. Napier, a member of the Labor Party, is widely known in England as an economist, a writer on industrial subjects, and a lecturer for the National Council of Labor Colleges.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

Liberals Are Stupid

Dear Sirs: From where I sit out here in Texas, far away from Communists and even liberals, it seems to me that the Communists and neo-fascists will inherit Europe and Asia, not on their merits, but because of the failures, weaknesses, and stupidities of the liberals and Socialists. The compromise by the liberals with elements of the right after World War I was instrumental in delivering their governments into the hands of fascists and reactionaries. I had hoped that they might have learned something from that experience, but apparently they have not. The French Socialists are being pushed steadily to the right and, before long, France will either be in civil war or under the rule of De Gaulle and the fascists.

Even the courageous domestic policies of the English liberals are liable to be undermined by a foreign policy dedicated to preserving capitalistic investments abroad under the control of the same old Tory group in the Colonial Office. Think of a Labor government supporting a king and fascists in Greece, Arab rulers in the Middle East, catering to Franco, and now shooting down rebels in Malaya!

Our own liberals, divided into half a dozen groups with no over-all policy,

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seem to be going further and further to the right. I notice that even the editors of *The Nation* seem to have become reconciled to war. No half-baked liberalism will save our civilization from threatened doom. Truman is not the answer. Only a dynamic socialistic policy can rescue us from the abyss into which we are about to plunge.

J. HAYDEN MOORE, SR.

Midlothian, Tex., August 8

Partnership Pay: A "Harmony of Objectives"

Dear Sirs: Management engineers are aware of what that intangible human element known as "incentive" does to production volume and production costs. They have seen examples—far too few, but sufficient for demonstration purposes—of how an organization has been knit into a team, with management and labor cooperating in the interest of the business as a whole.

On the other hand, they know that in most large American corporations labor and management (or labor and capital) have been engaged in a bitter struggle for advantage. One has only to read the deliberations of labor-management strike conferences to see how little give and take, or mutual understanding, there is on either side.

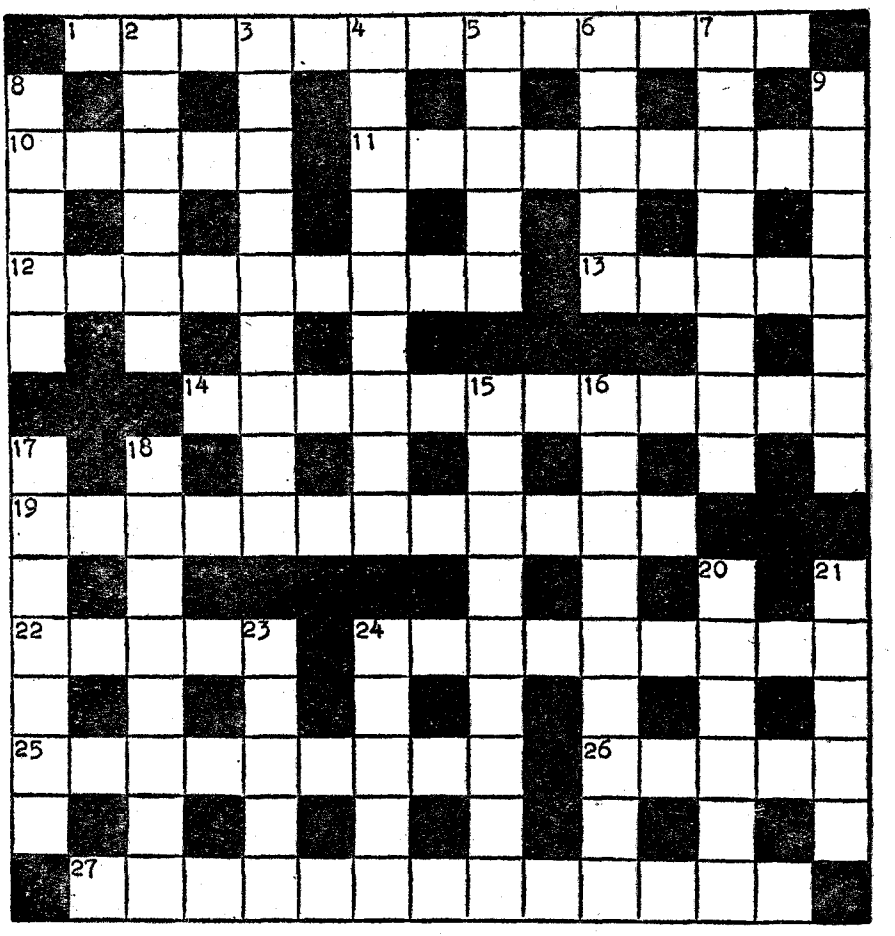
And the prospect ahead is not too hopeful, although management has shown a desire to look at the problem from the worker's viewpoint. For example: General Motors' flexible wage scales to meet changing living costs. More and more, the worker looks to his *union* for wage adjustment rather than to his *employer*. Union heads, having no obligation to the employers, study to improve their mastery of the bargaining technique by every possible method. Many are beginning to wonder if the free-enterprise system will stand the strain of another business crisis. Or whether the growth of organized groups will not undermine even representative government, which never contemplated, when its foundations were laid, the mass balloting of millions of voters in pressure groups.

The political pattern of today is closely interwoven with the industrial pattern. If we cannot solve industrial problems under the free-enterprise system, the alternative must be some form of socialism or collectivism.

In the writer's judgment, the solution to future harmony of capital and labor lies in some system of profit sharing

Crossword Puzzle No. 276

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What the blind Indian and the landlocked sailor have in common? (4, 4, 2, 3)
10 Two points near the zone. (5)
11 They mean more on the scales for musicians, and less for madame. (9)
12 Coins for dictators. (9)
13 Sometimes hot in anger. (5)
14 Must tyro mathematicians cross it? (4, 8)
19 Roberts takes it in swimming. (12) (Hyphenated)
22 Island where lisle is made. (5)
24 Not a dominion general, even in play. (6, 3)
25 Certainly not long distance. (5, 4)
26 Educate, not at call. (5)
27 These really turn out the news. (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Did these flowers turn blue on Babe? (6)
3 There's a crowd over by the animals—it's liable to make them nervous. (9)
4 Igloos? (9)
5 Seven isn't included in the odd numbers. (5)
6 Benny's been trying to get this guy for years. (5)
7 Get in, or else you'll find something rotten here. (8)
8 No mariner when 17 is disturbed. (5)
9 This loves to find me up in a Colorado park. (7)
15 Lewis, for example. (9)
16 Not covered with a cape. (9)
17 See 8. (7)
18 What the oil-driller has, when rich. (8) (hyphenated)
20 It's all over, when one tears up the street in Paris. (6)
21 Enemy country. (5)
23 A graduate of Wellesley? (5)
24 Circumspect. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 275

ACROSS:—1 WHIRLING DERVISH; 9 TRIATOMIC; 10 CHANT; 11 RETORT; 12 BEHEMOTH; 14 BOURBONS; 16 THAIS; 17 RECAP; 18 DIAGONAL; 20 DRESSERS; 21 BANANA; 24 EXTRA; 25 DARKENING; 26 SLAVERY QUESTION.

DOWN:—1 WATERS; 2 IDIOT; 3 LITERARY PASSAGE; 4 NAME; 5 DICKENSIAN; 6 RECREATION AREAS; 7 INAMORATA; 8 HATCHES; 13 GOOD FRIDAY; 15 ORCHESTRA; 17 REDRESS; 19 SAIGON; 22 ALIBI; 23 FRAU.

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whereby capital, management, and labor can share in the fortunes of the business, and all enjoy a greater measure of security and stability of labor and production. The idea of profit sharing is not new, but more thought needs to be given to an extension of the idea by government policies. The government must lead the way, simply because it is the only all-embracing agency.

Government taxation policies should make it easy and attractive for management and capital to share their rewards with labor. They should do this by relieving industry of taxes on all corporate profits that are shared with employees. (The Treasury would collect, anyway, on workers' personal income taxes.) Great encouragement would be given to profit sharing if "partnership pay," in the form of profit sharing dividends, were exempted from corporate taxes. In effect, this would be adding government dollars to industry pay rolls. Uncle Sam would be contributing to every dollar paid out in the form of profit sharing, by the mere expedient of forgiving taxes on these sums.

LET US LOOK at some of the effects that might be achieved by this system of profit sharing, which I like to call "partnership pay." First, it would not necessarily change the amount of money which the company now pays out in wages. But it would put the worker's income on a more flexible basis and in a more rational relation to corporation profits. In other words, it would make the company a better team. Workers would realize that their income would be in proportion to company profits. Where such an incentive exists, profound changes have taken place in employee morale and performance and, consequently, in labor costs. In one such factory, the employees exercise a supervision over their fellows' actions. They have instituted the "wolf call"—concerted "boos" to those who come in late. Instead of a hostile attitude toward management, with many workers trying to get by with as little effort as possible (and holding down their more industrious fellow employees), you would have as great a desire on the part of labor to increase both quantity and quality of output as you would find among management itself.

A system such as this might be established with a base pay, or minimum floor, and a flexible profit-sharing layer above that minimum. This profit-sharing volume would tend to increase in good times and decrease in poor times (as do prices generally). The employees would be striving to better the position of their company in its field of competition with other management-labor teams. They would have a selfish interest in company profits. They would be concerned with managerial efficiency and should be given a voice at the council table.

Of course, this would reduce the allegiance of the worker to the union and increase his loyalty to the company. From this standpoint, it might be expected to incur the hostility of labor-union executives. On the other hand, the need for collective bargaining would still be present.

Management would need to render a more detailed account of stewardship to the employees than is now the custom. And why not? The compensation for management and capital in such a system would be the greater economies of production and more amiable labor relations inherent in the whole idea of incentive pay.

Questions of hours of labor, seniority, rewards for extra skills, employee discipline, and so forth, would have an equitable basis for action, and might even be handled by employee committees. In a truly democratic organization of industry, there could be no foothold for communistic ideas.

Such a program would have widespread political consequences. Instead of growing cleavages and group allegiances in our political structure, with fear of domination by organized minorities, we should find our free-enterprise system further cemented together in a harmony of objectives. The laborer would be neither vassal to a corporate overlord

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R. A. ROBINSON

New York, August 6

[*Mr. Robinson is Director of Research for the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

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Dear Sirs: I believe the future will be black indeed if we have to conclude that the world's greatest nation faces a terrible crisis in history with nothing more than the political leadership offered by the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties.

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CALDER WILLINGHAM

New York, August 9

Exchange Department

Dear Sirs: I recently offered to exchange *The Nation* with British magazines subscribed to by some of my friends abroad. Replies are piling up, and I cannot fill every offer. Would some of your readers like to have some of the names and addresses? Mine is 1840 North Orleans Street, Chicago 14.

PAUL LORRENCE

Chicago, August 4

Dear Sirs: Two enthusiastic readers of *The Nation* in New Zealand would be very glad to enter into a reciprocal magazine-exchange arrangement with American subscribers. There is no show in the world of a private individual obtaining a personal subscription to your magazine here, owing to dollar restrictions. Air-mail cards to me will receive prompt reply. My address is Post Office Box 1, Sydenham, Christchurch.

ARTHUR E. E. IVORY

Sydenham, New Zealand, August 7

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